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UBAMBATHA KAMAKHWATHA

(*Benedict W. Vilakazi, M. A., D. Litt.*)

E. H. A. MADE and H. I. E. DHLOMO

FOREWORD

The death in October, 1947 of Dr. B. W. Vilakazi, evoked remarkable tributes to his character and genius as one of the leading figures in the development of Bantu literature in South Africa. The late Dr. Vilakazi was the author of two poetical works *Inkondlo kaZulu* and *Amal' ezulu*, and three prose works *Noma Nini*, *uDingiswayo kaJobe* and *Nje-nempela*. By private study under great difficulties he had taken his matriculation and then the B.A. degree of the University of South Africa. After joining the staff of the Bantu Studies Department of the University of the Witwatersrand, he completed his B.A. Honours, his M.A. and crowning achievement was the first Bantu to obtain the degree of Doctor of Literature. At the time of his death he held the position of Senior Language Assistant in the Department, honoured and respected of students and staff alike.

A Memorial fund for a Vilakazi bursary has been opened, and as his contribution to this, the Zulu author, Emman H. A. Made, has written this poem in his honour. Mr. Made, too, has made his contribution to Zulu literature with the publication of *Amaqhawwe Omlando* in two volumes and his *Indlalifa yaseHarrisdale*. We are fortunate to be able to publish with this tribute a free verse translation into English by H. I. E. Dhlomo, assistant Editor of the *Ilanga lase Natal*, a gifted poetical and dramatic writer. We commend this publication to the wide circle of those who hold the name of Vilakazi in honour and esteem.

Johannesburg,
September, 1949.

C. M. DOKE.

Bambatha, mnawami,
Ngiyakukhumbuzi
Ngalengoma yami:
Wen' owangibiza
Ngichath' amasele,
Umi nezigele
Zasemandulo—
AwoCecero.

Bambatha, dear my friend,
Of richest memory,
My songs to you ascend!
Who fanned Fate's fire in me
(A youth yet blind with toys),
Purblind to nobler joys
Of immortal minstrels old...
The Ciceronian gold.

*Ngasabela ngeza;
Wangethula ebandla,
Ngabutha noCaesar,
Banginik' isandla,
Bambatha ngitshela,
Nxa sengikhathele,
Ngothini kulo,
Ngogalo balo?*

*Babikele wena,
Bambatha, mnawami,
Makube nguweni
Othi wabenami
Sisahlab' insema
Silandel' oThema!
Batshel' oMilton
Batshel' oDryden.*

*Ngibike kobaba,
Bikel' uMakhwatha,
Uthi ngiyesaba
Ukuwusingatha
Umsebenzi wakho,
Mangxa ngingenakho
Ukuvikelwa,
Nokunxusela.*

*Bambatha, mfowethu,
UnoMbangulane
Nengane zakwethu.
Masivumelane
Bambatha, mnawami,
U6' umthunywa wami:
Bangivikele,
Banginxusele.*

*Sengikukhumbule,
Bambatha, mnawami!
Sebengishiyile
Abahlobo bami!
Walandel' oMqhayi
Abangasabuyi!
Vuka singome,
Ixwe livume.*

Charmed by your call I came;
They held me by my hand,
Great Caesar's gallant band!
Ben, friend, thus into fame
Baptized by thee, Ah! say,
When weary, wasted, stray,
What shall I say, how face
That host, return their grace?

Declare to them, make plea,
Bambatha, O my friend,
For thine the liberty
The humble to defend:
"Together we were young",
Tell Milton, Dryden, all:
"Together pierced the ball,
Aped Thema mould our Tongue."

Declare to blest our sires,
To old Makhwatha's ears,
That 'spite my proud desires
Your work to carry forth,
Fell doubts slay me, and fears,
For well I know your worth.
I pray for inspiration,
Support and your protection.

Bambatha, best my friend,
Thou arrow-pointed One,
Our children's Aim, attend
To soft my prayers; upon
One thing let us concur...
Be thou my messenger;
Pray I for inspiration,
Succour and supplication.

My mem'ry yearns for you,
Bambatha O my friend!
They have all left me, too,
Our friends of youth! The end
Came, Mqhayi took his turn,—
All never to return!
Arise! and let us sing,
And earth our echoes ring!

*Ngalinda, Bambatha,
Ngithi uyabuya !
O! mntakaMakhwatha,
Ngangith' uyabuya !
Ngabona lishona,
Ngathi sobonana.*

*Kwasa ungekho,
Kuyini lokho ?*

*Mnawami, wahamba,
Kawavalelisa.
Wanginik' ithemba—
Wawungikhohlisa?
Bathi sewufile,
Ngathi ukhathele
 Ukuxoxiswa,
 Nokungonyiswa.*

*Mabandl' onke sondelani
Ngokuthul' ethinteni;
 Singamxoxisi,
 Singamngomisi.*

*AbeNguni bajiyezekile,
Amaphakath' anethzekile
NgoGwaz' obengenaphika,
Ngoba nasebusika
Wakhula wangangoThukela,
AmaVaka amubalekela !
 Sizongoma sodwana,
 Wawungoma wedwana.*

*Nkunz' ethe iyaphanda
Bayikhetha kwaGilawoti,
Bayiwez' izifunda,
Ukulamulel' ezaseMvoti !
Iye yakhalinywa amaLoma,
EnomfokaHuss eMhlathuzane:
Athi kayelus' uRobbins Guma,
Obeyinikela kokaNgwane,
EMvot' okamangehleza !
Sibezwe bethi iwotwoza
Lidlwa ngezasemaNhlwengeni,
Kazilidl' ezasemaQadini !
Bantu basemaQadini ninamanga,
Inkunzi yakini kaniyelusanga,
Nayisisa ezizweni,
Yakhulel' ezintabeni !*

I waited—it was vain—
My friend for your return;
I waited only pain,
For broken is thy urn!
The sun and stars still come,
I wait, but thou art dumb.
O mystery of pain,
Will he not come again ?

In silence deep, my friend,
Without a word of warning
You reached your journey's end;
Deceitful hopes broke crushing!
"He is no more", they said ;
"He sleeps," said I, "not fled;
Worn out by labours long,
By harsh apprentice Song."

Assemble now ye hosts, assemble,
In peace around the tomb assemble ;
 Disturb him not with praises,
 Vain words let there be none!
Full fulgent Nguni hosts here stand dejected,
Dejected, stunned, our lofty Towers of Talent.
The human Hawk devoid of feathers,
Dorned music's wings, soared high and higher!
From arid ground, swelled like Thukela!
 Songs we will sing alone,
 Alone thou too didst sing.

Thou Bull in fields obscure were grazing . . .
Groutvillian scenes you roamed when, sudden,
On you Fate called Umvoti to make famous ;
And, music-maddened, citadels of learning
With Huss¹ you stormed, sweet Mariannhill's
 St. Francis.

Cried they, Let Robbins Guma nurse the Whirl-
wind,
This Bull-calf Guma Ngwane told to pasture '
'Mid Mvoti fields where grows a corn-comb
culture.²

Like climbing plants grew he and flowered,
Nhlwengini hosts fed 'neath the efflorescence;
But the Qadini purblind hosts, offended,
The feast they spurned, refused the Bull to pasture.
Ah! prejudiced and jealous souls your prophet
You exiled and left foreigners to honour.

¹ Father Bernard Huss. ² Read "mingled culture", i.e. "mixing" western and tribal forms of life.

'Eithibel' ezaseHollandi,
 Ebezaluke phezu koNdi.
 Kwathiwa wozanini nizoyeqela,
 Nathi nezakini iyazithibela!
 'Eithibel' ezaseNgilandi,
 Ebezidl' eWitwatersrandi.
 Kwathiwa wozanini nizoyeqela,
 Nathi ingebonel' uhlobo, yaphakulwa!

Sihosho esigqibe izihoshwana
 Ebezingonyiswa nguCaluza,
 Kwezamadunyana, kwezensikazana!
 Zikwakhel' uthango lwemishiza
 Zithi ziyakukukhumul' amadol.
 Wazikhahlela zalala ngempumulo!
 Wasong' uDuze ezakwa emaNtungweni,
 Esuth' umbodlozi, kwezesibaya!
 Wasong' uMbongo ezakwa emaNgwaneni,
 Esuth' umbodlozi, kwezesibaya!
 Wasong' uSuitbert ezakwa kwaDuma,
 Esuth' umbodlozi, kwezesibaya!
 Wasong' uWilemu ezakwa ekakhomama,
 Esuth' umbodlozi, kwezesibaya!
 Bathi liyeken iivukana,
 Liyobonel' uhlof' abaninilo—
 Ngukuma kwamadunyan' empungulelo!
 Sebeyakulelusa lodwana!
 Sabatshel' oWeseli basiphikisa;
 Sabatshel' noCarey basijezisa!
 Sathi: Tisha Gumbi silamulele;
 Sathi: Tisha Gumede sikhuzele;
 Elamasiso liyasinyinya!
 Bathi: Silesaba ukuhlanya!

Phikelela wakithi kwaZulu,
 Oth' ehloma kwakubej' izulu!
 Wadabul' umNdlunkulu phakathi,
 Abanikazi mNdlunkulu bamangala,
 Nanamhla basamangele!

Amok, the Bull was seen white walls attacking . . .
 Monastic ¹ halls 'neath Drakensberg's fair moun-
 tains

Where dwelt good Holland Order priests and
 When told, "Among us too", you said, [brothers.
 "he rangles!"]

Untamed the Bull the British now invaded . . .
 Witwatersrand's great learning's portals stately;
 And sighs came forth of warning and of doubting;
 Word came: "Firm friendship bonds he weaves"
 Unleash him!"

Raw Voice who overwhelmed raw other voices,
 Souls that Caluza taught to lisp in music,
 Young people strong as bulls, youth bright with
 hunger,

Who swore to wall you down with weapons,
 To bend your knees and break in competition;
 You fell them down, crushed to their noses:
 Ntungweni's Duze ² you shook down and swallowed,

He, blown with swagger in our kraal;
 Umbongo ³ of Ngwaneni he too followed,
 Still shouting boasts within our kraal;
 And Suitbert ⁴ born of Duma next you walloped
 When full of pride he strode our kraal;
 Ev'n William ⁵ of our mother's blood he galloped,
 Vain glorious soul within our kraal.

"The upstart vain, neglect!" they shouted;
 "The bowls of friendship breaks he for his people;
 For know ye not 'twas always so with upstarts,
 They feed alone, their ways eccentric."

We told it to our Wesley and he spurned it;
 To Carey it was told and he derided;
 Will you for us not intercede, O Gumbi;
 Gumede, intervene, said we, we implore you;
 Our birthright the usurper seizes.
 They chuckled, "Are you troubled by his madness?"

Strive on, persistent, forward, Zulu Seedling,
 Who gathereth arms as gathering storms forgather;
 Thy fame our Royal House has shaken,
 And royalty looked up astounded,
 Astounded they remain to-day.

¹ Ixopho Seminary. ² Ntungweni's Duze is G. Kumalo. ³ Mbongo is E. H. A. Made (author of Poem).
⁴ Suitbert is S. Duma. ⁵ William is W. Sithole. Mariannhill classmates of Dr. Vilakazi whom he outpaced
 (swallowed) in educational attainments.

*Wadabul' iSem'nali phakathi,
 Abanikazi Sem'nali balindela,
 Nanamhla basalindele!
 Buya phela Mahlom' ehlathini,
 Ingani abanye bahlom' endlini!
 Haya leyangoma,
 Ethi: Bula mngoma.
 Izizwe seziyolalela,
 Serukhule waziqonela!*

*Mabizw' angalibali!
 Omuhle kwaZikhali!
 Bakubiz' ePhayindane washesha;
 Kwakhonkoth' izimaku nezimakwana!
 AmaLom' athi: uBenedict ngowasendlini;
 Ingedinge enethunga,
 Eyaboshwa ngesefungo
 Kwavum' amathongo!
 Bakubiz' Ohlange washesha;
 Kwenanel' amabansi namabansana!
 Wath' uDuBe: uWallet ngowasemaQadini;
 Uwehlule amaNkhwenga,
 Ayometha izibongo
 Kuvum' amathongo!
 Bakubiz' eGoli washesha;
 Wakhahlel' obova nobovana!
 UDlomo wathi: Vilakazi, sisezizweni;
 Sithunywe, sizokhonga—
 Sizohaya izibongo
 Kuvum' amathongo!
 Muhle kwesakwaSangweni,
 Obemuhle nasemzini!*

*Ngikuthanda ubaphezisa
 Besathi ulikhohlwana,
 Bethi umkhandanyawana!
 Kuthe besakufenyisa
 Bekubiza ngechwensana,
 Wabephul' imizonzwana
 NgoNoma Nini kwabakwaNdaba;
 Baziba kwaNokoliji!*

Thy name our Catholic great halls has echoed,
 And priestly sages still go waiting,
 Still waiting they achieve to-day.
 Return thou self-made hero full eccentric,
 While others orthodox old paths still travel;
 Sing soft your choral song,
 Cry, Sing, diviner, sing!
 And nations all will listen,
 Enthralled by strange your magic,

Thou who when summoned, hasteneth;
 Zikhalis call you beauteous;
 To Pinetown Campus¹ call-you hastened,
 While manger-dog-like minds, both great and
 small, barked jealous!
 But Cath'lics said, Our navel son is Wallet;
 And precious is the cow rich-uddered;
 Why let it roam unmilked? Make contract rather,
 A contract souls ancestral view with favour.
 Ohlange next cried out—you speeded;
 And hunting hounds (not dogs) like you felt glad-
 dened;
 Said Qadi DuBe, Wallet is our kinsman
 Who outsiders defeated,
 And they sang loud his praises,
 Ancestral bands affirming.
 And next the Rand appealed;
 In haste the bull-dogs great and small you booted!
 And Dhlomo whispered, Vilakazi heed me,
 A missionary task is ours of service...
 Ambassadors of Song and Seal 'mid masses alien;
 To sing songs favoured of Ancestals;
 How beautiful he stands among his brethren
 Who beauteous shines among the aliens!

How have I loved you when you singed them
 Who said the Lower House² your station;
 Who blabbed, Poor stay-at-home,³ hot plant⁴
 While these derided, those malignèd, [external].
 You broke their toe-like legs clay-moulded
 With Noma Nini, tale of Ndaba;
 A hush pervaded College⁵ portals and the
 pundits!⁶

¹ St. Francis College, Mariannhill. ² Not as good as those graduates who attended at College. ³ Read for his first degree at home. ⁴ Should be "hot house plant"—external student. ⁵ "College" refers to Fort Hare. ⁶ Pundits, intellectuals refer to Fort Hare graduates (who, in the early days despised external students).

Welamisa ngeNkondlo kaZulu,
Benyela kwaNokoliji!
Wazal' uDingiswayo kaJobe;
Banyifa kwaNokoliji!
Waphinda wazal' Amal' ezulu;
Wesatshwä kwaNokoliji!
UBambath' obengengakanani
Ephuma kwesasemaNgwaneni!
Nkonjan' ebingenasiyiko!
Ebi hamb' ibasa amaziko,
Othiwe ngabasekhaya,
Bewotha nabaphesheya!
Libadidil' elayo isu,
Udak' ukuluthwala ngesisu!
Eyingenjenga 'nkonjan' ezinye
Ebeziluthwala ngomlomo!
KwaNxaba yangeniswa ngesango,
UFanny wayakhel' isidleke,
Yazalelela!
Wezela, waze walala,
Amachwan' engakabi nampiko.
Kaz' aseyophakelwa ngu bani,
Kwabasekhaya nabasemzini?

UMLOLOZELO WOKUQALA

Mbongeni, umama usalele;
Siphiwe, umama ukhathele.
Kad' eyokh' imifino emafusini:
Intshungu, nogqumgumu, nembuya.
Thulani, sobuye siqagulisane
Sekubuy' ubaba esikoleni.

Nkonjan' edukelene nezinye
Ebezingabizwa imvulamlomo.
KwaNdlovu ingeniswe ngesango,
UEmily wayakhel' isidleke,
Yazalela.
Yezela, yaze yalala,
Amachwan' engakabi nampiko.
Kaz' aseyondiziswa ngu bani,
Kwabasekhaya nabasemzini?

Came *Nkondlo yakwaZulu* like miscarriage issue,
 And injured groaned our intellectuals;
 You mothered next *Dingiswayo kaJobe*,
 Our pundits shrunk in wounded silence;
 Again you flowered forth with *Amal' ezulu*,
 A tremor seized your fellow graduates.
 Such he Bambatha, silent, shunning loud talks
 Link 'tween the Swazis and the Zulu. [arid;
 Migrating, nestless, homely Swallow,
 Sweet Swallow homely hearths who kindled,
 That native multitudes sustained,
 And alien neighbours white delighted.
 Your tactics strange the people puzzled,
 Sweet Bird who built in stomach-like deep silence,
 Your methods differed from your College brethren
 Who blab out loud like mud-mouthed swallows.
 At *NxaBa's* kraal the gates were opened,
 And Fanny build a nest, and you provided,
 And Fanny drowsed and slept a sleep eternal,
 Before the fledglings grew their feathers.
 Ah! who will feed and nurse the orphans
 Among your kindred and the aliens?

FIRST DIRGE

M *Bongeni*,¹ son, your mother rests asleep;
 S *iphiwe*, child, she sleeps in silence deep.
 For you green food she sought in gardens green,
 Of vegetables species lush and green.
 Weep not! our children's games again we'll play,
 From school when father comes at close of day.

O Swallow other swallows who confused,
 You paid no dowry,² came in glorious cloud
 suffused.
 At *Ndlovu's* kraal for you the gates stood wide,
 And Emily gave you nest; the nest grew wide;
 Now came your turn to browse, relax and sleep,
 You slept before your chicks grew wings. To keep
 The tender, little, orphaned darlings,
 We or the aliens, who will have the feelings?

¹ Vilakazi's children. ² Was educated and laboured not in the usual way.

UMLOLOZELO WESIBILI

*Yolanda, ubaba usalele;
Makhwatha, ubaba uphumule.
Kad' eyogawul' intungo ehlathini;
Uthe uzonakhela ikhaya.
Thulani, sobuye sincinzancinzane
Sekubuy' umama ekunanzeni.*

*Ben, ngangisho njalo.
Ngisithwe yigebe,
Kalinamkhawulo.
Mnawami, ngakube
Sibuthise nawe
Singonyiswa nguwe!
Wathi nyelele
Sisalifele.*

*Kangikholwa mina
Ukuthi ufile,
Ephil' umamina.
Ngith' usikhonzele
Phakathi kwembongi
ZakwaMvelinqangi:
AwoChesterton,
NaboTennyson.*

*Bambatha, mfowethu
Ngikhethele' ingoma
Ngihayel' owethu;
Uyek' isiLoma,
Ngesenu noBrutus,
NaboAurelius.
Nginyenzezele,
Ngiphumesele.*

*Wawuzimisele
Ngesizwe zakini;
Silel' ungalele,
Usezindleleni
Zokusikhonzela
Nokusifundela—
KwezoAugustine,
NaboTertulian.*

*Kanginakuvuma
Ukuthi sewafa,*

SECOND DIRGE

*Yolanda, babe, your father, is asleep;
Makhwatha, son, he sleeps in silence deep.
The forests wild he was content to roam
And fell down trees for logs to fashion home.
Weep not! our youthful pranks again we'll play
When from her chores mother returns at close of
day.*

*Ah! never did I know,
As, shadowed in a pit
Of depths Cimmerian low,
Thy Reed would shake and split!
We'll serve, I thought one band.
You, the conducting hand.
In stealth you flew away
While we delayed all day.*

*Thou art not dead, sing I;
While your song maidens live;
I know thou didst not die!
Our representative
Thou art midst poets dead,
Jove's heirs who are now fled,
Like charming Chesterton
And Titan Tennyson.*

*Bambatha, brother mine,
I'm weary more to sing
To young my friends and thine.
Cease Latin notes to ring,
Rare speech for you and Brutus
And learned Aurelius;
But whisper low to me,
Then clear I'll speak and see.*

*Hard for your Race you strove!
In slumber while we slept,
The thread of duty, wove,
The lonely vigil, kept...
Still interceding and
Still struggling for your land
Among Augustine's breed,
Tertulian's modern Seed.*

*Ah! never while the sun
Upon the fields still shines,*

*Uma lisaphuma
Phezu kwamathafa,
'Kusehl' amazolo
Anisel' inKolo
Kwasebelele,
Bephumule.*

*Kanginakuphika
Ukuthi wahamba;
Kodwa ngiyophika
Ukuth' isikhumba
Sihlakaniiphile.
Nawe ngivumele
Sibaphikise,
Sibaphezise!*

*Mtshela noAggrey
Ngobashiy' emuva;
Mtshela noMacaulay
Ngendlel' enameva,
Owedlula ngayo—
Esihamba ngayo—
Sikhuthazeke,
Siduduzeke.*

*Um' ungasobuya,
Mnawami, ngitshele
Ngiphindel' ekhaya.
Kade ngilindele—
Kuphume ilanga
Ngingacimezanga.
Eashiy' oNewton,
Bayek' oDarwin.*

*Teku kwabalobokazana
EeNkismane nabaPewula,
Betekula bekhohlisana,
Bethi: Gudluzan' iKhafula,
Singafa ngabantabethu!
Kuthe kusuka wawelulcka
Mhlalamakhwaba wakwethu,
Wabasith' abantamende
Mdla upheth' esibuza de!
Wasikh' uClement Dcke, eGoli,
Wasikh' uJan Hofmeyr escPitoli!*

Shall I believe thy Sun
Has set; while Life enshrines
Itself in rain-like dew
Which Faith revives anew
To those at rest who sleep . . .
Death's rest of silence deep.

Yet wherefore to deny
And sigh, Thou art not dead?
In body cold you lie,
But not your Soul which sped
Released. These things we know.
On me the power bestow
To stop those who these things
Deny—their mutterings.

Report to Aggrey how
You left us here behind;
Macaulay, tell him, thou,
The path of thorns we find,
Which thou didst travel and
We tread still in our land.
Encourage us this day,
Give balm to us that way.

If thou wilt not return,
My friend, Ah! let me know;
Then homeward shall I turn,
For weary I now grow.
The sun doth set and rise,
But sleepless are my eyes;
Leave Newton and return;
Leave Darwin. Come! We yearn!

Thou Subject of the rumour mongers,
The Afrikaaners and the English,
Deceiving one the other with false mumblings,
Saying, The Kaffir wild let's get uprooted,
Lest troubles fall on us and on our children!
Instead, thou spreadest high and higher,
Thou Gourd of creamy milk among your people;
The day you struck with blood-stained weapons.
You followed Doke, Reef's learned, famed Professor
In footsteps of Hofmeyr you came—Pretoria's
genius.

Soka elival' abakhwekax' umlomo,
Lathi: Ngilapha ngizolobola,
Seniyidlil' invulamulomo;
Izolo nithe ngilitshekula!
Lathi: Isithunywa kasishaywa,
Umhlaleli kithi kabulawa!
Ngiyobuya kusasa nomthimba
Sewuvunul' ezakin' insimba!
Eathe lemukile, labuya;
Kwanciph' indaw' emaNgisini!
Laqhamuka nezasekhaya;
Kwanciph' indaw' emaBunwini!
Lithe kanti lingumkhongi,
Lavunul' ezobumbongi.
Kwasin' uNompoloza, iMpondokazi,
IQholo lam' Afrika,
Kwezimnyam' izintombi;
Abafana basemzini benanela!
Kwasin' uMalahlela, uMpedikazi,
IGugu lam' Afrika,
Kwezimnyam' izintombi;
Izinsizwa zekhethe zakukhelela!
Kwasin' okaMazibuko 'mSwazikazi,
INamhla lam' Afrika,
Kwezimnyam' izintombi;
Abalamukazana bakuvulela!
Kwasin' uJezile, eliHlubikazi,
INGomso lam' Afrika,
Kwezimnyam' izintombi;
Omakotshana bonke bakwenamela!
Wathi: umakoti ngimlandile,
Abasekhaya bangilindele!
Wavela nezasemaXhoseni,
Kwezimnyam' izinsizwa;
Badidek' abasemzini!
Wavela nezasemaBaceni!
Kwezimnyam' izinsizwa;
Basha futh' abasemzini!
Wavela noGumede kuBeNgun' abakhulu;
Wathi: AmaKhafu' endile!
Wavela noMzoneli kuBeNgun' abakhulu;
Wathi: Ilobolo liphumile;
Wavela nokaDuma kuBeNgun' abakhulu;
Wathi: Am' Afrik' endile!

Proud Suitor who struck dumb the rumour monger.
 You said, Here have I come to pay my dowry,
 Much wealth of ours you have exploited;
 But yesterday you called me upstart;
 You said, a messenger attacked is never,
 Ambassador to kill is not our custom,
 A wedding party will I bring to-morrow,
 Dressed in your Light we'll come adorned.
 They thought you gone, you kept returning,
 No place to breathe was there among the English;
 And now came you with a train of your trained
 brethren,
 The Afrikaaners found no place to shelter;
 'Twas strange that you ambassador appointed
 Appeared in garments of a poet;
 With you danced Nompolozo¹ of the Mpondo,
 The pride of Africans
 Among dark maidens comely,
 And youthful foreigners applauded!
 Next Malahlela² danced, she of the Pedi,
 The flower of Africans
 Among dark maidens comely;
 They made you way the youth of highest standard!
 Next Mazibuko³ danced, chip of the Swazi,
 The gem of Africans
 Among dark maidens comely;
 For you the gates stood wide among the aliens!
 Jezile⁴ now she danced, child of the Hlubi,
 The hope of Africans
 Among dark maidens comely;
 And maidens all for you applauded!
 You said, I've come the bride to carry,
 The Black Race waits the marriage contract.
 You came with train of the maXhosa,
 Among dun sons our brothers,
 And foreigners stood puzzled;
 You came with train of the maBaca,
 Among dun sons our brothers,
 The foreigners again were troubled.
 You brought Gumede⁵ of the Upper Nguni
 And said, Now wedded are the Kaffirs!
 You brought Mzoneli⁶ of the Upper Nguni,
 And said, We have now paid the dowry.
 You came with Duma⁷ of the Upper Nguni,

¹ Dr. Carolina Nompozo, M.B., CH. B., (Glasgow). ² Dr. Mary Malahlela, M.B., CH. B., (Rand). ³ Mrs. Reginah D. R. Tswala, B.A. ⁴ Miss Herriet Jezile, B.Sc. ⁵ Dr. Mordicai Gumede, B.Sc., M.B., CH. B. ⁶ Mr. Mzoneli, B.Sc. ⁷ Mr. S. Duma, Vilakazi's classmate at Mariannhill.

Wangena noBuqukudla kwezaseNatali,
 Kwadum' uThayimolo!
 Wangena noStanley Gwala kwezaseNatali,
 Kwadum' uThayimolo!
 Wangena nokaMndaweni kwezaseNatali,
 Kwadum' uThayimolo!
 Kwasondela uLembede kwezethunga,
 Izingwazi zakubalekela!
 Kwasondela noMalinga kwezethunga,
 Amagos' esabi' ukukwehlela!
 Wagida kwehluka amasuku,
 Ugida ngezasesebusuku!

Kuphum' uHampton Jack kwezobaqa
 Bakikiza abakhwekazi!
 Kwaphum' uA. P. Mda kwezobaqa,
 Kwadum' uThayimolo!
 Kwez' uTekateka kwezobaqa,
 Bakikiza abakhwekazi!
 Kwez' okaSibisi kwezobaqa,
 Kwadum' uThayimolo!
 Wabiz' uMsimang kwezobaqa,
 Baxolombis' abakhwe!
 Wabiz' uMajozi kwezobaqa,
 Baxolombis' abakhwe!
 Umemeze kwasabel' uNdimande,
 Kwezabuthwa libantu-bahle;
 Wathi: Mabaso, uZul' imlingene!
 Wamemeza kwenanel' uNzimande,
 Kwezaqhathwa libantu-bahle;
 Wathi: Nxumalo, uZul' imlingene!
 Wasukum' uSelby Ngcofo
 Kwezashay' idadamu;
 OAmos Dlamini bakhuz' uSuthu!
 Kwasukum' uDon Mthimkhulu
 Kwezashay' idadamu;
 EzakwaNomvete zakhuz' uSuthu!
 Sathi: Uyadel' uMakhasana,
 Yen' owazibona zibethana!

Mnguni, unyawo lwakho silusolile,
 Isigqi sabakhwe usijiyezile!

And said, The Africans have married.
 Next, Buqukudla¹ of the Zulu,
 The Town Hall rang in thunder!²
 Then Stanley Gwala³ of the Zulu,
 The Town Hall rang in thunder!
 You followed with Mndaweni⁴ of the Zulu.
 The Town Hall rang in thunder!
 Now shone Lembede⁵ of the inner circle,
 Away from you run intellectual warriors!
 Malinga⁶ followed, of the inner circle,
 And silence reigned among the pundits!
 You danced, the day illustrious carried;
 You danced the dance of students bred external!

Now came our Hampton Jack⁷ 'mid Lights of
 In joy the homely throngs applauded! [culture,
 Next, A. P. Mda⁸ rose 'mid the Lights of culture,
 The Town Hall rang in thunder!
 Now Tekateka's⁹ turn 'mid Lights of culture,
 In joy the homely throngs applauded!
 Sibisi¹⁰ next among the Lights of culture,
 The Town Hall rang in thunder!
 You called Msimang¹¹ among the Lights of
 Then pranced and danced thy brethren! [culture
 Majozi¹² next among the Lights of culture;
 You called again, he answered our Ndimande,
 Among the conscripts fair recruited.
 Mabaso, say, the fray is equal to the Zulu!
 Again you called, now answered our Nzimande,¹³
 Among them called to fight in open.
 Nxumalo,¹⁴ hear, the fight is equal to the Zulu!
 Then up arose our Selby Ngcofo,¹⁵
 Among our sons who swam triumphant!¹⁶
 It cannot be! said Amos of Dlamini.¹⁷
 Then up arose Don of Mthimkhulu,¹⁸
 Among our sons who swam triumphant!
 It cannot be! now cried Nomvetes.¹⁹
 We shouted, Happy he, ah! happy,
 Who sees this battle fierce of splendour!

Thy goings Mnguni Fair we censured,
 For footsteps sounds of brothers you have drowned.

¹ W. J. Gumede, B.A. ² Applause in City Halls where graduation ceremonies oft take place. ³ Stanley Gwala, B.A.
⁴ R. A. Mndaweni, B.A. ⁵ A. M. Lembede, M.A., LL.B. ⁶ B. J. Malinga, B.A., M.ED., N.D., A.C.P. ⁷ H. Jack, B.A.
⁸ A. P. Mda, B.A. ⁹ J. Tekateka, B.A. ¹⁰ R. Sibisi, B.A. ¹¹ R. Msimang, B.COM. ¹² J. H. Majozi, B.A. ¹³ Nzima-
nde, B.A. ¹⁴ A. W. J. Nxumalo, B.A. ¹⁵ S. B. Ngcofo, M.A., B.ECON. ¹⁶ Went overseas and triumphed there.
¹⁷ A. W. Dlamini, B.A., ¹⁸ D. G. S. Mthimkhulu, M.A. ¹⁹ Nomvete, B.SC.

*Kwagiy' ezakwaNhlapho eGoli,
 Izintuli zabeka phezulu:
 Bekhetha abeNgun' abakhulu!
 Kwagiy' ezakwaMoerane zombili,
 Izintuli zabeka phezulu,
 Beyahlul' abeNgun' abakhulu!
 Uvele noV. Kubeka kwezonyezi,
 izinsizwa;
 Wathi: Sishimane vuk' uvale!
 Wavela noS. Mkhulisi kwezonyezi,
 izinsizwa;
 Wathi: Sishimane vuk' uvale!
 Waphum' uMncube kwezasemini,
 Izindonga zeGoli zababaza;
 Ephuk' amajongozi!
 Waphum' uS'khakhana kwezasemini,
 Izindonga zePitoli zachwaza!
 Ephuk' amajongozi!
 Ikhethe labalunweyana lakwesaba;
 Lithe liyakugqiba waqubuka;
 Ayikhex' imilomo amavaka,
 Bambath' ovele wedwa kwabakwaNdaba!*

*Nami ngamubona
 Ngilele, ngiphupha,
 Owathi: Mana!
 Ubal' okuhlupha
 Isizwe sakini.
 Ngathi: Kanjani
 Ngingabiziwe?
 Ngamtshela ngawe.*

*Kawunakusola
 Lokhu ngangingazi
 Ukuthi yicala
 Ukungakotizi.
 Kawungiyalanga,
 Ngakho kangazanga
 Ngokufanele,
 Abaganile.*

*Kafi onjengawe,
 Kufa onjengathi.
 Ngicabanga ngawe
 Ngikholwe ukuthi
 Bayangikhohlisa:*

Now danced along the Reef the Nhlaphos ;¹
 And heavenward dust was sent ascending!
 With slow steps came the Upper Nguni!
 And now there danced the two Moeranes ;
 And heavenward dust was sent ascending,
 As they the Nguni elders overcame.
 Then appeared Kubeka² of the lightning
 Among our sons.
 You said, Awake, come forth, thou sluggard !
 Now came Mkhulisi³ of the lightning
 Among our sons.
 You said, Awake, come forth, thou sluggard !
 Then up came Mncube⁴ of the sons of daylight.
 The walls of Johannesburg now stood silent !
 And youth with might fell broken !
 Then up came Sikhakhana, son of daylight.
 The walls of great Pretoria resounded !
 And youth with might fell broken !
 And long-haired inner circles trembled !
 To bury you they tried, you rose up mighty !
 The humbler fry their mouths gaped fallen !
 Bambatha who stood lone among the Nguni !

To me also came One,
 (Asleep I was—in a dream)
 "Stand fast!" warned Fair this One,
 "Arise and tell this theme . . .
 Your people's agony."
 Said I, "How can this be,
 I have received no call?"
 Of you I told him all.

No blame attach to me,
 To me who did not know
 A fault it was of me
 No bridal song to blow;
 You should have warned me so,
 I did not therefore know
 Sufficiently and long
 Those wedded unto Song.

They die not those like you;
 They die who are like me !
 My thoughts all dwell on you,
 'Tis why oft comes to me
 Conviction that they lie :

¹ Dr. J. Nhlapho, B.A., LL.B., PH.D. ² V. Kubeka, B.A. ³ S. Mkhulisi, B.A., A.C.P. ⁴ F. Mncube, B.A. Hons.

*Wena usahlkuisa—
UnoShakespeare,
Usazobuya.*

*Ngangithi uyexwa,
Kanti sewulele,
Kawusamenyexwa
Mfowethu, batshele
Nami ngiyovuma.
Salusukhuluma,
Bezwe oPhoofolo;
Bezwe noMofolo.*

*Bakhumbuz' oVirgil,
Abangane bakho;
Baphikis' oZwingil,
Ngokukhonza kwakho.
Baishle ngokwazi
Wen' osukwazi,
Njengoselele,
Osebenzile.*

*Ungabafihleli
Ngokusihluphayo;
Ungabalaleli,
Abasihlebayo.
Chayis' izinhlebi
Ezivez' okubi
Ngamazw' amahle,
Zifihl' okuhle.*

*Abaholi bethu
Sebedidekile;
Izingane zethu
Seziphangalele;
Kazisavunyiswa,
Kasizangonyiswa,
Ngawamathongo,
Nangezibongo.*

*Bambatha! Bambatha!
Vuka usihole,
Uchith' amalutha!
Vuk' uhlabelele!
Ziyothul' izizwe.
Zamazwe ngamazwe.
Buya ungome,
Sonke sivume!*

You are asleep close by
With Shakespeare and his train,
And you'll return again.

He lives, I thought, he hears;
But fast asleep you were,
Beyond our calls and cheers.
My friend with them confer,
To this will I agree,
Speak bold to them, make plea,
Tell it unto Phoofolo,
Repeat it to Mofolo.

Make known these things to Virgil
Companions they of thine;
Debate the theme with Zwingill,
Report your service fine;
For thine is now the priv'lega
To tell them of your knowledge;
For now with them you sleep,
Your work achieved,—you sleep.

Before them hide thou not
Our troubles and our groans;
To them O hearken not
Who paint us in false tones;
And chide the gossipers
Who speak in evil whispers:
Men who speak in soft language,
Hiding the Good they damage.

The leaders of our Race
Wallow in deep confusion;
The children of the Race
Lie scattered in destruction!
To obey they will not hear,
To sing they cannot bear;
They cannot make some music,
Are deaf to Spirits' magic.

Bambatha O Bambatha!
Arise! and be our leader;
Deceivers, scourge, Bambatha;
Arise! sing songs, thou Singer!
Then will all clashes cease,
And peoples all have peace;
Return to us and sing,
And let our echoes ring.

*Bantu eninemihlobo kwaZondi,
Nobikela abakwaMancinza
Nithi: uBambath' akuy' owakwaZondi!
Nithi: ubengowakwaDukuza,
Obengasiphathi isingindi
Edukuz' amadoda ngencwadi!*

*Uzwathi lwakithi kwelokutshalekwa!
Baluphehl' emaBaceni,
Lwavutha kalwaphela!
Baluphehl' emaNgangeni,
Lwavutha kalwaphela!
Baluphehl' emaQadini,
Lwavutha kalwaphela!
Baluphehla nase mzini,
Lwavutha kalwaphela!
Waluphehla uOchs eGiliveni,
Waluphehl' uMgobozi eVillage Main.
Luvuthe kulakwa, lwavutha kuvukwa!*

*Impisel' ebikuphathwa kubili!
Abayethule kwaMa-Zikhali!
Ngasekhohlwa beyibavumela,
Nakwesokuphonsa ibavumela!
Beyingafani nampisel' ezinye,
Ebeziphathwa ngasandla sinye!
Kuthe besayivivinya yaphunyuka,
Yashay' amanzi kwabeduk' udaka:
Kwavel' amathongo,
Yaweth' izibongo!
Ngalalela ngezwa ukuxokozela,
Kubang' awakwa'fili nawakwaNgwane,
Ethi, asale seyiphanyekwa ethala,
Abakwamhlaba hayisabalingene!
Safik' isigijimi sikaNkosi
Sathi: uNkosi uthi wox' umbonise!
Ngenqab' ukuyibuka Mzwangedwa,
Ngalibal' ukumumuth' imbondwe.
Ngathi ngokwenu, Mathongo,
Ukukhalel' izibongo!
Mbandzini! Izingane uzikholisile,
Ngokuzembul' ingubo zisale!
Matiwane! Nawe usimangazile,
Kanti nakalokhu usaphikelele?
Kuthe ngo' uBambatha ungumzukululu
Wathi angewa'ongwe awakwaZulu?*

You friends who have relations 'mongst the Zondi,
Go tell the people of Mancinza;
Report: Not of the Zondi is Bambatha;
Announce: He was a product of Dukuza,
He who a short blunt weapon carried never,
As men he harried in the field of learning.

A Torch in this our land where we dwell strangers;
To make it flame the maBaceni rubbed it,
It burned bright unconsumèd!
To make it flame the maNgangeni rubbed it,
It burned bright unconsumèd!
To make it flame the maQadini rubbed it,
It burned bright unconsumèd!
They did the same the Aliens,
It burned bright unconsumèd!
And Greyville's Ochs¹ he also rubbed it,
From morn it burned, it burned till evening!

The Axe that was in both hands handled!
They picked it up from ma-Zikhali;
They struck with right hand and it answered;
With left hand struck, still it responded;
Not like all other axes
That in one hand are handled; [tested,
Now from their hands it slipped while more they
It struck the waters and dark mud rose flying!
Then up arose Ancestral Spirits,
And showered it with many praises.
I stood and heard the noise of voices countless,
'Twas row between the Jilis and the Ngwanes;
They said, Restore it back upon its shelving,
The thing is now beyond us mortals!
Then came a messenger from Nkosi;
Said he, O hurry! Nkosi craves your assistance;
But—tell it not—I had no strength to face it,
I stood as one who sucks an esculent, a tuber,
I murmured back, It is for you O Spirits
To break in lamentations loud of praises;
I swear it, Sir! you have upset the children,
For while they slept you lifted off the blankets.
You, too, embarrass us O Matiwane,
How long wilt thou pursue persistent?
Because Bambatha is thine offspring,
Dost think the Zulus should not sing him praises?

¹ Farther W. J. A. Ochs, O.M.I.

*Wagcina ngokukhonza nawe,
Mla uthi: Igad' idiniwe!
Mbuyiseni uBambatha!
Usele'ze okaMakhwatha!*

ESICELWINI SAMATHONGO

*Mqhayi nawe Ntsikana!
Mafukuzela ninoMnganga!
Bokwe nawe Rubusana!
Plaatje ninokaMantshonga!
UBambath' usengowenu,
Oselele nabakwenu!
Eaprofethi nabaprofethikazi!
Memezani ivuk' iAfrika!
Zimbongi nezimbongikazi!
Qubulani yethuk' iAfrika!
Umhlab' owab' uxabene
Namuhla sewuhlangene!
Vumani ngezwi elikhulu
Kuze kudum' amaxulu!
Hlokomani kuvume izintaba,
Kuvume nezingane zomhlaba!
Imibango ishabalale.
Izitha ziyokhophoza.
Sukumani nisivulele,
Sesivukile, siyeza!*

*Ngilinde liphuma
Ngith' usalibele;
Uhamb' umema
Bonk' abangalele;
Baqoq' amaf' ethu,
Bambatha wakwethu:
UZul' angome,
Izwe livume.*

*Ngilinde lashona,
Yaphuma nenyanga:
Ngase ngiyibona
Ikhothem' iminga,
Enhl' emagqumeni,
Nasezigodini.
Ngakulindela,
Ngith' uzodlula.*

You, too, retired a subject loyal,
The day you said, All flesh is weary,
Return ye O return Bambatha,
For now denuded lives Makhwatha.

TO THE ASSEMBLED ANCESTRAL SPIRIT

Thou Mqhayi ¹ and Ntsikana, ²
Mafukuzela, ³ Mnganga, ⁴
And Rubusana, ⁵ Bokwe, ⁶
And Plaatje ⁷ and Mantshonga,
Your company now is Bambatha;
He rests asleep with blest your brethren.
Ye prophets gone, both men and women,
Lift high your Voice, let Africa awaken.
Ye poets of the Race, both men and women,
Roar forth in thunder, Africa to shaken!
Now here on earth where reigned confusion,
We see the fruits of fusion.
With mighty voice break ye in music,
Let heavens all resound in thunder!
Ah! sing ye all till mountains echo;
Yea, sing till earth-born children answer;
Ah! then will cease our useless wrangling,
And shy our enemies will stand confused.
Arise! the gates for us all open!
Awake is Africa and coming!

From morn I waited on;
I thought you had delayed,
But mortals you had gone
To summon, have them swayed
To save our heritage,
Bambatha, of my Age,
And rouse the Zulus sing,
Till earth the echoes ring.

Until the sun had gone,
I waited; till from seas
The moon rose high and shone.
Saw I the Minga trees
Bow down amid the hills
And valleys down the rills.
But still I waited, dumb,
For you this way to come.

¹ S. E. Krune Mqhayi, Poet and novelist. ² Ntsikana the Prophet. ³ Dr. J. L. DuBois, PH.D. ⁴ Father Mnganga, PH.D., D.D., (Rome). ⁵ Dr. W. Rubusana, PH.D. ⁶ Rev. Knox Bokwe, Composer. ⁷ Sol. Plaatje, Author.

*Kwaze kwahwalela
 Ungabonakali.
 Ngezwa ngizisola,
 Ngith' avusalaleli,
 Bambatha, mfowethu,
 Sesingom' awethu,
 Kuvum' inkalo
 Ngezenanelo.*

*Maḡandl' ophakade!
 Vulcan' angene
 Okhule wamude
 Enabafushane!
 Osihlabanele,
 Nathi: Sekwanele!
 Namezelisa—
 Namulalisa!*

Until the Eventide
 I waited! all in vain!
 Then I began to chide:
 He hears not our **Refrain**,
 Bambatha, brother mine,
 The songs, we sing, divine,
 That make horizons stir,
 And Praises ring with cheer.

Ye everlasting hosts,
 Open and let him in,
 Who grew mid midget ghosts,
 But giant heights did win;
 Who fed us rare such stuff,
 You cried, "It is enough!"
 And brought ambrosial calm so deep,
 He dozed in peace and fell asleep.

AN OUTLINE OF THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM OF THE NYANJA AND YAO TRIBES IN SOUTH NYASALAND

AUDREY LAWSON

Acknowledgements are due to many African friends who have freely given me information, and especially to Mr. Bennett Malekekebu.

THE present Bantu population of the Shiré Highlands in South Nyasaland consists of four major groups :

1. The Nyanja tribe, the country's earliest known inhabitants, whose language is closely allied to that of the Sena and Tette people on the Zambesi and the Senga on the Loangwa, but whose origin is uncertain. In 1858 Livingstone found various branches of this tribe settled throughout South Nyasaland.

2. The Yao tribe, numbers of whom between 1860 and 1870 were driven southwards from their home in Portuguese East Africa by the neighbouring Amakua Walolo. These fugitive Yao fell upon the unwarlike Nyanja, conquered and subjugated their chiefs, and finally settling among them, intermarried to a certain extent.

3. A sprinkling of Ngoni, that branch of the Zulu whose flight from Chaka, wanderings in East Africa and ultimate settlement in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa, are familiar history. In the Shiré Highlands Ngoni are found only in small scattered groups, for their real home is the "Angoni Highlands" of central Nyasaland.

4. Recent immigrants from various tribes in Moçambique, given by Nyanja and Yao the indiscriminate name of "Lomwe", (i.e., possibly, "people from Lomwe Hill") or more rudely, "Nguru", (i.e. "people who speak indistinctly, like drunkards").

This study was made in the district around Zomba and deals exclusively with the Nyanja

and Yao tribes, who there predominate. These peoples seem to have come from different parts of the continent. Their languages, despite a common Bantu descent and much recent borrowing, remain as distinct as possible and are obviously not modern dialects of one more primitive tongue ; their original social structures must, however, have been similar enough to attract them to each other, for they have so intermarried and their customs so fused, that one can now scarcely distinguish their ways of life and village organization. Indeed, while homesteads of apparently pure Nyanja and Yao still predominate, every considerable district contains members of both tribes, with some people, at least, of mixed descent ; moreover, and although one perceives a difference of character and manners, and trace it to the influence of Mohammedanism on the Yaos, one may well be unconsciously exaggerating. This account of relationship terms, (with brief reference to underlying social structure), must be taken, therefore, to cover the fusion of two once-separate tribes, and Nyanja and Yao equivalents must—unless otherwise stated—be understood as identical in meaning. In fact, Nyanja often prefer Yao terms to their own.

How far can one isolate the Nyanja-Yao social structure in order to study it ? Ngoni immigrants in this district are few, and their original patrilineal social system has largely succumbed to the customs of these earlier comers. The matrilineal system of the still more recent and numerous Lomwe immigrants is, I believe, (though my evidence is fragmentary), exerting a considerable influence on the somewhat dissimilar but also matrilineal Nyanja and Yao.

For the most profound influence comes from Europe. Modern large-scale economics engulfing primitive small-scale economics, legislation by Protectorate Government, contact with Christian Missions and with European ways of life and thought—these together are shaking Nyanja and Yao society to its foundations. Constructive elements they do, of course, contain, but rebuilding on the ruins has hardly begun. In order to understand the present with its problems and promises for the future, we must know something of the past; the traditional Nyanja and Yao relationship system is the key to this past which I would try here to put into your hands. It is not yet too late to grasp. The greatest changes began within living memory, and where village and family life has been revolutionized, relationship terms are still untouched. Hence, if we study the more conservative members of the tribes in the light of these terms, we should be able to piece together a fairly accurate outline picture of their original society. I make no attempt here to analyse in detail their relationship system: a study of the mutual responsibilities and interdependencies inherent in it, and the changes it is now undergoing, would require many years, and its results fill a large volume. This paper may, I hope, serve as an introduction to another's study, made before it is too late.

Nyanja society differs from any modern European social group in three ways: it is matrilineal; it is matrilocal; by the traditional practice of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, (i.e. marriage to the daughter of one's mother's brother, or, equally, of one's father's sister) its ties of blood and affinity have become interdependent.

Our English society, like that of the pure Ngoni, is patrilineal, the child belonging primarily to its father's family and the son inheriting wealth, social status and sometimes political power from his father. The Nyanja child, on the other hand, belongs primarily to its mother's group; a boy inherits social and political status from his mother's brother, and a girl from her maternal grandmother. These relatives on the mother's side arrange the children's marriages and have throughout life more authority and

influence over them than have the father and his group. If a marriage is dissolved any children which resulted from it stay with their mother at her home village: their father, whether or not responsible for breaking up the home, has no claim on them.

The relationship of blood is the basis of Nyanja village life. All members of a typical homestead, (*mbumba*), are relatives or affines, (that is, connected by marriage), and the custom of matrilocal marriage determines that a man must live at the homestead of his wife's parents, usually for life but at any rate for ten to twelve years and until he has proved himself a trustworthy son-in-law. Matrilocal marriage produces homesteads of twenty, fifty, a hundred or more huts, where the small family as we understand it—man, wife and children—is merged in the larger unit. This unit consists of a man and his wife; their daughters and daughters' husbands; their unmarried sons; their daughters' daughters and sons-in-law; their daughters' unmarried sons, and so on down the generations. Family authority is divided between the oldest woman in the homestead, who is grandmother, (*ambuye*), par excellence, and her eldest brother, (or, if he is dead, his heir, normally the eldest son of her eldest daughter). This man, the owner of the homestead, (*mwini mbumba*), is considered as the ultimate head of the family, but he takes advice from the female *ambuye*. The male head of the family, however, unless a petty chief over several homesteads, must live at his chief wife's home and so can only visit his own *mbumba*, not reside there.

To-day the ties that bind a family group are weakening and authority is shifting from the maternal uncle to the father; young people mostly choose their own mates, and bilateral cross-cousin marriage, although not dead, is dying. The relationship terms, however, preserve a record of days uncertainly recollected by the oldest people living, when this was normally practised as the preferential marriage. Moreover, one can readily understand the value then of cross-cousin marriage between pairs of nearby villages: in a society where strangers were distrusted and interclan and intertribal warfare was rife,

people can only have felt safe in the home village of either father or mother.

Let us now, with the help of Tables X and Y, work out in detail this relationship system, see what it means to a Nyanja to live in a matrilineal society and grow up in a village based on matrilineal marriage, where possible between cross-cousins.

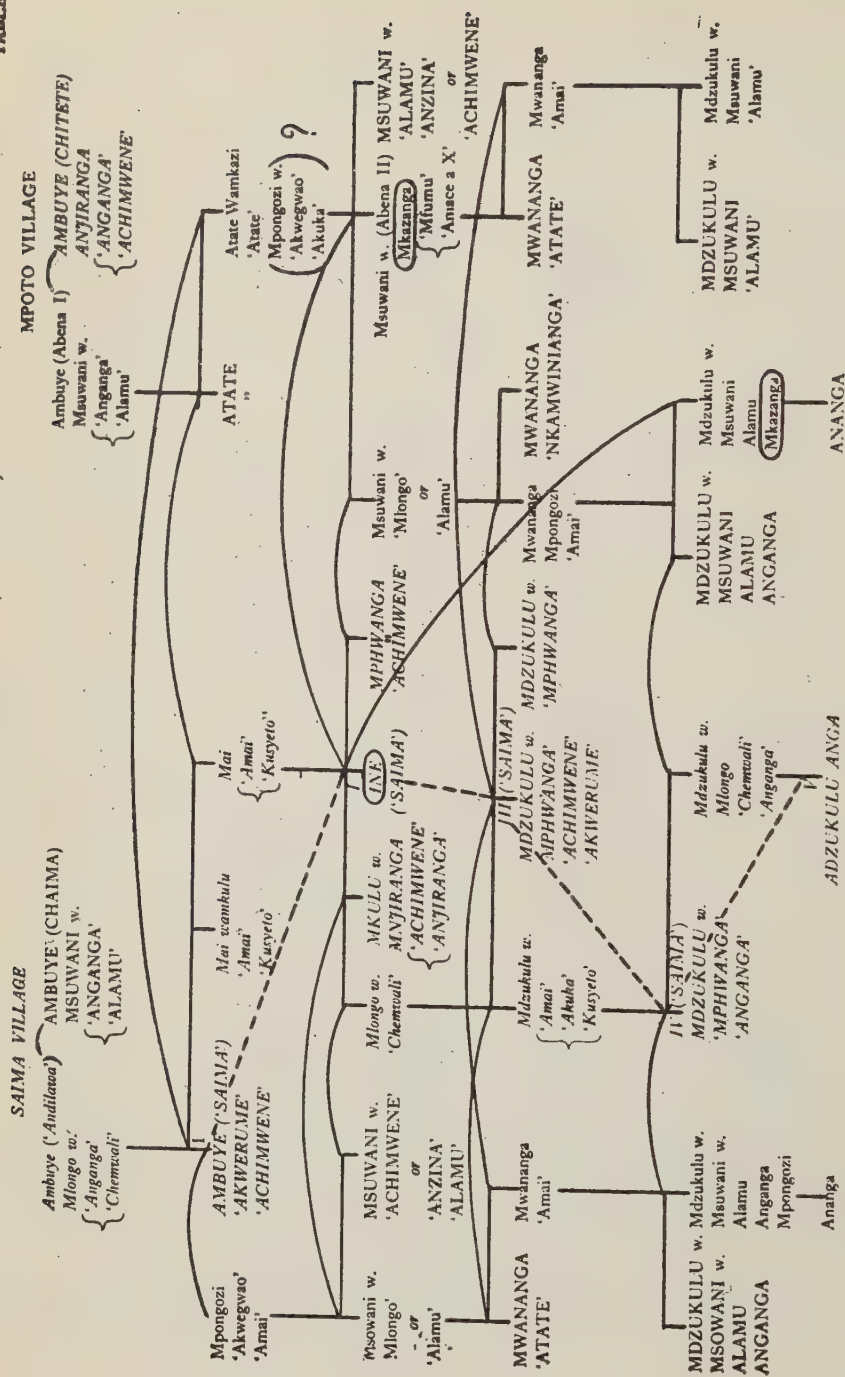
To take first the girl *Abena*, offspring of a cross-cousin marriage between a man of the Milanzi, and a woman of the Mwale, clans. Abena inherits from her mother membership of the Mwale clan, is born at Mpoto village, her mother's birth-place, and is tied for life to her family (*mbumba*), which she must follow wherever it may move in search of land or to avoid hostile tribes. The first person Abena knew, **her mother**, was very close to her throughout infancy. She spent most of the day tied on to mother's back, and at night lay on her sleeping-mat. Her father, who has a second wife in a nearby village, was not always at home. Then one day her mother, become pregnant again, refused her the breast, and soon Abena was taken into her **mother's mother's** hut to sleep there with the children of her mother's five sisters. From now on her grand-mother is as important to the girl as her mother: Abena plays round Granny's door, as often as not eats from her porridge-bowl, is given a tiny hoe and taken to her maize garden to "help", and is instructed by her in correct behaviour towards all the homestead. On warm spring evenings the children listen to Granny's riddles, fables and tales of the ancestors, from which informal school they absorb much of the traditional wisdom of the tribe. When she reaches puberty, Abena will be taught by her grandmother and perhaps another old woman her new responsibilities and the taboos she must observe—her mother could never speak to her of sexual matters. This *ambuye*, the oldest woman in the homestead, is, indeed, its female head, having inherited from her mother's mother the revered family name of "Abena" together with the supreme authority. Hers especially is the task of teaching the young children, advising the newly-married grand-daughters and their husbands, and hearing

all kinds of quarrels. As she, like her daughter after her, married a cross-cousin from Saima village, her husband is a Milanzi, and although a man of character whose advice is welcomed, and called *ambuye* by Abena's generation, his voice has not the same weight as hers in deciding village affairs.

Abena the girl, then, grows up under the care of her mother's mother, who by naming her at birth claimed her as her heir and especial trust, and who singles her out from her younger brothers, sisters and cousins by the way she addresses and treats this first-born and favourite. As personal names are not normally used or referred to in conversation, Abena I speaks of, and to, Abena II as *mdzukululu*, (the name used to cover all grand-children, besides a man's nephews and nieces, and so best translated as "heir"). More commonly the old woman and the girl call each other respectively, *mkulu wanga*, (i.e. "my elder sibling of the same sex", between women "my elder sister"), and "*mphwanga*", (i.e. "my younger sibling of the same sex", between women "my little sister"). The Yao term *chemwali*, which may be exactly translated as "elder sister", is also often used, as is the familiar reciprocal term—between all grandparents and grand-children, *anganga*; but the special titles used between a person and his or her name-child and heir are *nzinanga*, (literally, "my namesake"), and *bwenzi langa*, ("my friend, lover").

But Abena II has other *ambuye* in the village. Her grand-mother's younger sisters and their husbands are called by this same name, and all call her *mdzukululu* and encourage her to treat them with the like friendly confidence. More familiarly, the old women and the girl may speak of each other as *mkulu wanga* and address each other as *chemwali*—Abena II would not be called *mphwanga* because she is potentially their elder sister, the future *ambuye* of the village—while the old men and the girl can speak of each other as *msuwani wanga*, (my cross-cousin), and address each other as *alamu*, (brother-or-sister-in-law). These last names I will explain later, when discussing the relationship between Abena

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE (MAN'S SIDE)



KEY TO TABLES X AND Y

1. Members of Mwale clan, born at Mpotu village, in roman type.
2. Members of Milanzi clan, born at Saima village, in italic type.
3. Capital letters signify males, small letters females.
4. $\overbrace{a\ b}^c$ means the man 'A' has married the women 'b' and 'c'.
5. I, II, III, signify female inheritance of the title *ambuye*, that is, headwoman of the homestead, and the family name "Abena".
6. I, II, III, and dotted lines, signify male inheritance of the title *ambuye*, that is, headman of the homestead, and of the family name "Saima".
7. w = *wanga* (my). y = Yao as opposed to Nyanja name or title.

and her cross-cousins, for I wish now to turn to the people of her parents' generation in her home village of Mpoto.

Abena and her mother call each other sometimes *amai*, sometimes the still more respectful term *akuka* or its Yao equivalent *kusyeto*; she and her father call each other *atate* and *amai* respectively. But why is the little girl called *amai*—that is, "mother"? First, says her mother, to teach the child the name she herself wishes to be called; second, to accustom her to the polite use of titles rather than personal names; third, because she must consider her mother's heir—a child of her womb—as her potential mother! For when Abena I dies and Abena II steps into her place, she will have the status of her own mother's mother. This inheritance by alternating generations sounds paradoxical, but one must not conclude that Abena's mother scolds her when she is naughty any the less for her being the future female head of the village: their relationships is as it were a faint reflection of that between our Queen and princess Elizabeth when a child.

Custom does not permit Abena and her parents to call each other by the same variety of affectionately familiar names as may Abena I and her heir, for their mutual behaviour should be less free and easy. Nevertheless, both Nyanja men and women have by word and deed assured me that to the end of their lives they love and honour their mothers—their true mothers—above everyone, including wife or husband. I say love and *honour*, for the respect due to father and mother is brought home to boys and girls at puberty when they are taught certain taboos, (e.g. to avoid their parents' sleeping-place in the hut); moreover, care for their parents in old age is then impressed on them as their first duty in life—a duty sanctioned in pagan belief by the return of the dead in dreams to bless or curse filial or unfilial offspring.

Besides her own father and mother, little Abena finds in the village others of their generation—**her mother's younger sisters and their husbands**. All these call her their *mwana*; the women and girls address each other as *amai* or *akuka*, and the men and girl as *atate*, *amai*,

respectively. Here again, as with the generation above, we see how the classificatory system of relationships works out: there are no terms for "aunt" or "uncle"; all the women of Abena's mother's generation in her home village are her "mothers", all the men her "fathers", while she is "niece" to none but "daughter" to all. We must not imagine, however, that children do not in their minds normally distinguish between their true and classificatory parents. Love for one's own mother is, I repeat, the deepest and most lasting affection in the life of most Nyanja. Yet surely Abena cannot feel so differently towards her true and classificatory parents as does a European child towards its parents and its maternal aunts and uncles-by-marriage: she lives next door to these aunts and uncles and knows how often a mother will hand over to a childless sister one of her own children to bring up. Indeed, I know one woman who did not discover until after her marriage that the *mai* who brought her up was not the *mai* who bore her, though I believe there was no intentional concealment.

Remembering that the village is coterminous with the extended family group—that both the collection of huts and of people living in them are called by the same name, *mbumba*,—let us now look at Abena among her playmates. What a contrast with children in an English village, growing up in a tension between neighbourliness and class and sectarian jealousies, and divided into little self-contained economic units of the "family"! Every child in Abena's village is "brother" or "sister" to her, and although she probably feels her real brothers and sisters especially close to her, yet she sees every bit as much of the children of her mother's younger sisters, for now as small children all eat, play and sleep together in their grandparents' hut. Abena is *mkulu* or *mnjira* to all the girls, speaks of them as *aphwanga*, and addresses each as *mphwanga* or *chemwali*; true, there are one or two actually older than her, but as daughters of her mother's younger sisters they are considered younger. Abena and the boys are *mlongo*, (sibling of opposite sex regardless of respective ages); to each

other, and address one another generally by the Yao terms of *achimwene* to a boy and *chemwali* to a girl.

Behaviour between true, and almost equally between classificatory, brothers and sisters suggests deep and lasting affection — far deeper affection than does that between man and wife. When, at or before puberty, Abena's betrothal is arranged, her eldest brother will be the go-between; later, she may turn to him, and through him to her mother's brother, for advice and help in adjusting herself to married life, and in any serious quarrels with her husband. There are no taboos between them, and if her brother is benighted near the home village on his way to his wife's home, Abena can share her supper with him and give up to him her sleeping-mat. True brothers and sisters are so close that they consider each others' husband or wife as by adoption a blood relation, calling them brother or sister, (*mphwanga*, *mnjiranga* between those of the same sex, and *alongwanga* or *achimwene chemwali* between those of opposite sex), I believe this is the only instance of a term describing a relationship within the matrilineal family group being applicable also to cross-cousin affinity and even to strangers from a far village. Most informants declare that it would be unthinkable incest to marry a deceased brother's wife or sister's husband, yet not all are ready to call them brother and sister.

As the Nyanja are an agricultural rather than a pastoral people, there is no rigid division of all labour between the sexes, nor of boys and girls into age-groups; as in a modern European family, "brothers" and "sisters" play together freely in childhood, and still, though less freely, in adolescence. However, the girls of the village form a loose group with Abena at their head. Growing up together from infancy they learn from each other and through imitating the grown-ups, (*akulu*), until play develops into work, and at an early age the little girls become less of a burden than an asset to the *mbumba*. At eight or nine Abena can pound maize into flour and cook porridge with a relish of leaves, carry heavy water-jars from the stream, scratch up weeds

in the garden with a small hoe, and carry bundles on a journey—all which jobs she is expected to do for Granny or any "mother" who needs her help. But the companionship of her mates makes pounding an excuse for chatter and song, turns water-carrying into a bathing expedition, cooking into a game, and there is plenty of time for idleness and pure play.

To sum up the relationships of the *mbumba* from Abena II's point of view. She has fewer names to learn than a European child, for all members of each generation, at any rate of the same sex, stand to her in the same relationship and have the same name: all the old women and their husbands are grandparents, (*ambuye*), all the middle-aged women mothers, (*amai*), and their husbands fathers, (*atate*), all the children brother or sister, (*alongo* between opposite sex, *aphwanga* between the girls). There are no Nyanja equivalents for "cousin", "uncle", "aunt", "great-aunt", etc. Moreover, if you push to its logical conclusion the inheritance system, you find only two generations; the third or newest is, as it were, adopted by the first, and when it grows up and bears children this fourth generation will be adopted by the second. Thus if Abena I lives to see the children of her granddaughter Abena II, (whom she has adopted into her generation with the title *mphwanga*, i.e. "little sister"), she will call these just her "children", and there is no alternative name to translate our "great grandchildren".

Let us now follow Abena II and her younger sister on a visit to their father's nearby village of Saima, and watch them playing with the **children of the father's sisters**. They feel quite at home here, and Abena readily accepts her paternal grandmother's invitation to sleep a few nights in her hut with these cross-cousins, *asuwani*. The children at Saima are by matrilineal descent Milanzi's, and so considered unrelated by blood to the little Mwale, Abena; on the contrary, the boys are her potential mates, for just as her Milanzi father married into the Mwale clan, so Abena expects to marry back into the Milanzi's. She has not yet been betrothed, but there is talk of an engagement to her mother's eldest brother's eldest son, and the preliminaries may

be gone through soon. Betrothal, however, is a gradual process, whose culminating ceremony cannot take place until the marriage has been consummated. Ancient custom here varied, but it seems that the majority of Nyanja and Yao girls married after puberty, and to young men not very much their senior. Meanwhile, Abena calls all her boy cousins "brother-in-law", (*alamu*); she may call any one of them jokingly "my husband", (*amunanga*), and he retaliate with "my wife", (*akazanga*). There exists between them, in fact, a relationship similar to that found in many Bantu tribes and translated as "a joking relationship". The Nyanja call it *cibale cakutukana*, which means literally "relationship of rudeness, vulgar familiarity, or swearing". It permits these cousins to call each other "Thou", (*iwe*), seldom heard even between brothers and sisters, to use great freedom of speech and mock insolence to one another, and to indulge in horse-play together. Just how far this familiarity went in the old days, and still goes among pagans, it is impossible to discover; children, certainly, were accustomed to build grass houses together and play at families, (*kupanga masanje*), and a Nyanja writer on the subject of Bantu marriage believes that this involved a good deal of sexual play, and not necessarily only between betrothed cousins.

Abena also calls her girl cousins *alamu* or *anzina*, and is on very familiar terms with them; custom, indeed, seems to encourage a lack of respect between them, for Abena knows that if she does in time marry one of her boy cousins, his sisters will then feel entitled to walk into her hut and make free with her belongings, and expect her to do the same by them. Now they share with her their sleeping-mats in their grandparents' hut, together with their younger brothers. Other *asuwani* of Abena, children of her father's classifi-

catory sisters, sleep in their own (i.e. biological) grandparents' huts, but join her during the day; together they form a large group of children like Abena and her "brothers" and "sisters" in Mpoto village, all calling each other *anjiranga*, or *aphwanga*, and treating their *msuwani* or *mlamu* Abena with the extreme familiarity permitted between cross-cousins, that is, potential mates.

In the same way Abena learns two names for her **cousins' parents**. One, designating their actual relationship with her, the other, their potential affinity through marriage. First, looking on the women as her father's sisters and classificatory sisters, she describes them as her "female fathers", (*atate akazi*), and calls each simply *atate*; considering the men as her mother's brothers and classificatory brothers—which in fact they are, wherever the customary marriage has taken place—she calls them "him from whom I inherit, uncle, elder brother", (*ambuye, akwewume achimwene*), and they describe her as their niece or grandchild, (*mdzukululu*), and call her "mother", (*amai*), or *kusyeto* in Yao. Secondly, looking upon them as her potential parents-in-law, Abena may describe them as such, (*apongozi anga*), and may address the women by the polite Yao term, *akwegwao*; the men, however, she will still call *ambuye*.¹

When we watch Abena and her sister with their cross-cousins and paternal aunts and uncles we see clearly the difference of behaviour between *abale*, that is, blood relatives, members of the same matrilineal extended family or *mbumba*, and between members of two exogamous clans who regularly practise intermarriage. The customary behaviour between *abale*, that mixture of respect and affection which Abena has been taught at home, and which she shows almost equally to her maternal grandmother, her "parents" and her "brothers and sisters", she here uses towards

¹ It is interesting here to compare the Nyanja and Yao with certain patrilineal peoples. Junod, finding similar behaviour patterns to the mother's brother and father's sister among the patriarchal Bathonga of Portuguese East Africa as among matriarchal people, traces them to a hypothetical early matriarchal stage of social organization. Radcliffe-Browne, however, in his article on the Mother's Brother in S. Africa, suggests a different origin. At least two other non-Bantu patriarchal tribes—the Polynesian Tonga and the Nama Hottentots—are like the Bathonga in these behaviour patterns. May this behaviour not spring simply from a tendency to extend to one's mother's and father's groups behaviour suitable to mother and father respectively.

This explanation would not, as of course Radcliffe-Browne realizes, apply to a matriarchal people like the Nyanja, where one keeps at a respectful distance from one's father's sister, but is more under the authority of one's mother's brother than of one's father.

her mothers' brothers, (*ambuye*), who are, of course, also Mwales. But just as behaviour between the cross-cousins differs from that between *abale* so the girls behave differently towards the Milanzi women of Saima and the Mwale women of Mpoto. At Saima their respect and affection seem divorced: all the respect, mingled with something approaching fear, is given to the *atate akazi* or *apongozi*, and all the affection, blended with a familiarity which can easily degenerate into contempt, to the *asuwani* or *alamu*.

The relationship between a girl and the *atate akazi* who is to become her actual mother-in-law, (*mpongozi*), is the most difficult and delicate in Nyanja society, and so is hedged about with restrictive taboos: the girl must not eat with her nor even speak to her, must draw well aside from the path when she approaches—often running away to hide—and must not sit on her sleeping-mat nor go anywhere near her sleeping-place. In fact, any necessary intercourse between the two must be carried on through a third person, and some girls do not even dare to speak at all in the presence of their *mpongozi*. When a girl marries into a strange *mbumba*—not her father's—she can end this *cinyazi*, ("modesty", "shame in the presence of . . ."), when she has proved herself a good wife by bearing her husband a child; she must, however, take her *mpongozi* a present in token that she begs permission to approach her. In some Nyanja districts, I am told, tradition forbids a girl to end this *cinyazi* as practised towards her *atate akazi*, ("female father", i.e. father's sister), so that it becomes lifelong.

There is one exception at least to this last custom—the first child. Abena, as the eldest child of their mother, stands in a favoured position with her *atate akazi*: while her younger sister must avoid these aunts, she may approach them; they treat her as their *buenzi*, ("friend", "lover"), and encourage her to confide in them and make free with their houses and belongings. As the eldest grand-daughter in her mother's *mbumba* Abena II is name-child and heir of her mother's mother; nevertheless, her father followed the custom of asking one of his sisters to name her

at birth, (which second name she will probably discard at puberty), and it is this custom which leads all his sisters to treat the girl as their potential name-child. Some say that the youngest child has the same freedom.

We turn finally to Abena's paternal grandparents, the old people in whose hut she sleeps while visiting at Saima village, and watch their mutual behaviour. At first we notice no difference from Abena's behaviour towards her maternal grandparents: here, as there, the girl often calls the old folk *ambuye* or *anganga*. But it is not long before we hear her call her father's mother *alamu*, and perhaps describe her as her *asuwani*, ("sister-in-law", "cousin"), while she will call her father's father *achiwene*, ("brother"), and describe him may be as her *mlongo*, ("brother" from a girl). We remember now that at Mpoto village these names were reversed: her mother's mother is Abena's *mkulu* or *mnjira*, ("elder sister") and so called *chemwali* or *anjiranga*, and her mother's father her *alamu*. How is it that Abena II can address her grand-parents as if they were members of her own generation, and how are her maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather classed together as "brother" and "sister", and similarly her maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother as "cousins"? Remember first that inheritance on the female side descends by alternate generations, that Abena II is heir to Abena I and her girl cousins to their Milanzi grandmothers—her father's various "mothers" at Saima—and that an heir is called by the name and endowed with the status of her from whom she will ultimately inherit. Thus Abena II is potentially Abena I. She can call all her Mwale grandmothers *anjiranga* ("elder sister"), and her Milanzi grandmothers—who are in fact Abena I's *asuwani*—*alamu* ("sisters-in-law"), and treat these old women with almost the same familiarity as the *alamu* of her own generation. Secondly, we must remember how cross-cousin marriage works throughout the generations: Abena I as a Mwale married a cross-cousin Milanzi from Saima village; her husband built their huts at Mpoto and settled there, like several of his "brothers" with whom he forms a Milanzi

minority in this predominantly Mwale village ; his sisters meanwhile stay at Saima with their Mwale husbands from Mpoto, "brothers" of Abena I. Thus at Mpoto we find the women of all three generations are Mwales, called by Abena I *ambuye* or *chemwali* in the generation from whom she inherits, *amai* in her mother's generation, *chemwali* again, (or *aphwanga*, i.e. "younger sister"), in her own generation. The men, on the other hand, are Milanzis except in the latest generation of boys and unmarried youths. In Saima it works the opposite way : the women are all Milanzis, the men Mwales—except for Abena II's boy cousins who as Milanzis stay at their home until they marry Abena and her "sisters" and come to live at Mpoto.

There is at Saima an example of one old custom which shows how the Nyanja do in their minds identify members of the alternate generations. Abena's paternal grand-father has recently taken a classificatory daughter's daughter as a second wife to help his first wife, now old, with the arduous work of pounding and fetching water. I have been given several examples of this custom and told that it used often to happen for a man to take, not his biological grand-daughter, but a great niece, grand-child of one of his wife's sisters, as a "little wife". So it seemed natural for Abena's grand-father to marry this girl of Abena's generation, whom he had always called *alamu*, and even jokingly, *akazanga*. In the same way it is conceivable that Abena II might be taken as a "little wife" by one of her maternal "grandfathers", not Citete, Abena I's husband and her mother's father, but perhaps Nkwangwa, husband of Abena I's younger sister.

I have tried here to reconstruct the framework of a couple of typical Nyanja villages as I believe them to have been bound together, before European influences upset them two or three generations ago, by cross-cousin marriage. The villages are imaginary, but the names by which their fictitious inhabitants call each other are those still used to-day, and it is from the suggestion of these names that my sketch derives. But if, in truth, village life used to be organized

on a kinship basis, how far, you may ask, is it still so organized? Very largely. Cross-cousin marriage may be dying out and the bigger homesteads inclining to split up, but society is still fundamentally matrilineal and matilocal. One or two examples will show in what ways it is changing and in what ways it is fairly stable.

I. An old Yao friend of mine, X, who died three years ago was the grand-mother (*ambuye*) of Y, a village of 13 huts divided in two by a government-built road. Her father was a polygamist ; her husband, (dead before I knew her), had had two other wives in nearby villages ; when some 12 to 15 years ago she and her family, (*mbumba*), moved here, parts of it broke away, leaving her with a much smaller homestead than that in which she grew up. Besides the abandoned hut of my dead friend X, are those of a sister, two daughters and their husbands, six nieces (the daughters of three different sisters) and their husbands, a widowed step-brother, a step-son who has brought his wife to his home probably because her brother married his sister and so lives at Y, and a "boys' hut", (really a kitchen too), in which sleep or slept the bigger sons of one of her nieces.

II. A Nyanja friend, A, five or six years ago was allowed by his parents-in-law to take his wife back to his home village. Here, therefore, contrary to matrilineal custom, he lives with his own parents ; but the rest of the homestead is matrilocal. When A built his hut here there were four other huts : his parents ; those of a younger sister of his mother, (*mai wamung'ono*, "little mother"), and her husband ; a girl cousin, this aunt's daughter and so called by him "sister" (*chemwali*), and his only married sister. It is still a small homestead, though another sister has since married and her husband built a hut here, and his young unmarried brothers have built their own "bachelors' hut", (*cinyamata*) where they sleep with one of his nephews ; it can never be large, since his parents had eight sons, who as they grow up and marry go off to their wives' homes, and only two daughters to bring them sons-

in-law in place of sons; and it is unlikely that many, indeed any, of his brothers will be able as A has done to overcome matrilocal prejudice. Many relatives, however, live close by, having broken apart from an originally large homestead; less than a mile off live an elder sister of A's mother, (*mai wamkulu*), with a married daughter, and perhaps a mile in the other direction live his mother's mother's brother and his mother's brother, (both *ambuye*), with their families of married daughters and granddaughters, unmarried sons and grandsons—a homestead of seven or more huts. Moreover, about fifteen miles to the East, near the shore of Lake Chilwa, is the original settlement of the Saima clan, to which A belongs through his mother and where, but for the peace brought by the Europeans, he and all his scattered relatives would probably still, he says, be living. Thus, though the average homestead to-day numbers, say, ten to fifteen huts, another part of the original family unit, (*mbumba*), is often to be found in a second small homestead not far off, and large compact villages of up to forty or fifty huts are still not uncommon. One chief's village I know has twenty-six huts, another beside the Shiré has thirty. Both these are matrilocal homesteads inhabited (if my informants were truthful) only by relatives and affines.

The examples cited show how strong is the kinship tie even under modern disruptive influences, and suggest how all-powerful it once was. I have called it a key to Nyanja and Yao society, for I believe their culture derives from it at every point: marriage, homecraft, agriculture, education, religion, were all bound up with the *mbumba*. But my aim here is not to describe the tree, merely to try and unearth its roots; and so, with one suggestion as to how these roots are entwined, I must end.

We find among the Nyanja and Yao vestiges of an exogamous matrilineal clan system which hint at a possible origin of cross-cousin marriage. Any Nyanja or Yao will tell you that he inherits from his mother membership of a certain clan,

(*mtundu*, or among the Ngoni and the Nyanja influenced by them, *mfumba*),—say the Mwales'. His father is of another clan—as likely as not the Milanzis'—for it is considered incest for two Mwales to marry. He will tell you that he addresses every Mwale he meets, even a stranger from a far village, as "brother, sister, father, mother", (*achimwene, chemwali, atate, amai*) according to age and sex, and feels obliged to offer them help and hospitality—although this feeling is in most parts dying out. The Milanzis of his own generation whom he meets he considers in the same way as his cousins, (*asuwani*), and treats, or used to treat, with the same friendly familiarity as his real cross-cousins at his father's home village.

This extension of brotherhood to one's mother's, and cousinship to one's father's, whole clan, suggests that the Nyanja clans (into which possibly the Yao married) may have grown each out of an extended family group, (*mbumba*), living or travelling together. Cross-cousin marriage would follow naturally on friendship between two such nearby groups, for after a few generations of intermarriage the groups would become so connected that a man born into the one and marrying into the other would in actuality be marrying his cross-cousin. Moreover there is a tradition, at least among the Nyanja of Zomba District, which bears out the evidence of the relationship terms. Old people tell how the earliest leaders of their tribe entered the country, each surrounded by his *mbumba*, and settled first here then there; they explain how each group came to be named, and how lasting friendship arose between the Amwale under Chief Mpoto and the Amilanzi under Chief Saima, and similarly between the Apiri and the Ankhomu, the Ambewe and the Achanza. Whatever truth lies behind this tradition, it is certain that to-day, however scattered the clans may be and however generally the young men reject cross-cousin marriage, yet a Mwale still calls "cousin" every Milanzi he meets and treats their women as potential mates; and the same holds good between the Phiri and Nkhoma, Mbewe and Chanza clans.

THE COMPOSITION OF A CEWA VILLAGE (MUDZI)

J. BRUWER

IN CONNECTION with a rural development scheme launched in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, a group of peasant farms has been started. The basic idea of the experiment seems to be individual farming on a given acreage, as against the setting of tribal custom whereby village groups till the communal land in the immediate vicinity of the village abode. This means that family units work their garden plots in surroundings where the wife's family group is dominant.

The present experiment is only in its initial stages, and it will be premature to forecast what the ultimate outcome may be. If it succeeds, one does see in it the nucleus of a total change-over in the social structure of a matrilineal people. The community pattern, tribal laws, succession rights and inheritance, social and cultural setting as well as economical values will undoubtedly be affected. Since both matrilineal and patrilineal tribes abide in the Province, the experiment leaves ample scope for interesting study as to what cultural setting and social structure is ultimately going to dominate.

In view of possible development and socialization different from the age-old pattern still dominantly in vogue among the Cewa, a composition of a Cewa village is here offered. This has, as far as my knowledge goes, never been attempted before, and a timely record may be of value to future research workers.

Generally speaking, the Cewa village takes no stereotyped form as for example villages or kraals of some southern Bantu tribes. Villages differ considerably with regard to hut-position, general layout, number of inhabitants and family complex. That the village composition is however not without a definite pattern will be born out by the analysis of a specific village specially surveyed for the purpose.

Recently, houses in Cewa villages situated in the new settlement areas, have been built in parallel lines according to government plan and order. Notwithstanding this new approach to village construction and layout by official architects, most Cewa village inhabitants maintained their basic pattern internally as far as actual position of family-groups are concerned. The accompanying plan of Tsumbwi's village clearly shows in what ingenious way the customary relation groups maintained identity within the framework of a modern layout.

This village is not a selected sample. It happens to be easily accessible from my present abode, and is also one of the oldest village dynasties in the vicinity.

The pre-history of the Tsumbwi dynasty is interesting because it is most probably representative of most Cewa village groups. Originally the people stayed at Maca near Undi's (the paramount chief's) abode at Mano in Portuguese East Africa. From there they emigrated northwards during the unsettled times of Undi's migratory journeys, till they reached the areas of Chief Msolo along the Lupande River. On arrival of the Angoni, they, like many other Cewa groups, submitted themselves to the wild and conquering warrior-invaders, to prevent suffering from plunder, murder and slavery. Till the arrival of the Europeans they settled among the Angoni at Msosoka hill near the village of the present Ngoni chief, Nzamane.

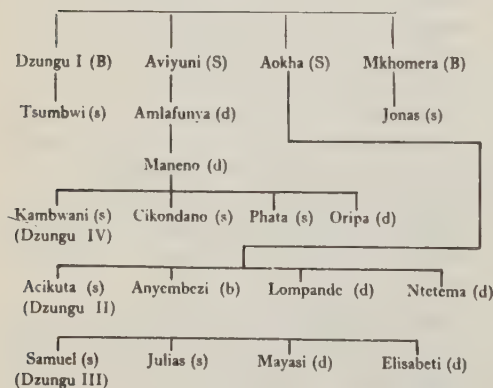
When the Ngoni were subdued by the British, the Cewa obtained freedom to return to their original habitat. The people of Tsumbwi moved to their present abode, and stayed at a site where they slept for a few nights during their migration from Maca.

I. LINEAGE OF HEADMEN

The original village headman of this group was Dzungu. He belonged to the Mwanza clan and had two sisters, Aviyuni and Aokha. Aviyuni, the elder sister, was termed *bere lalikulu* (great breast) in the native tongue, the bearer of the lineal blood. She had no able son to succeed his uncle as village headman. Aokha however, the younger sister, had a son, Acikuta. Due to a marriage agreement with a woman from the present Nyasaland, Acikuta left his home village, settled with his wife's people, and was therefore unable to succeed his uncle. On Dzungu's death, the only possible successor was a son, Tsumbwi, who was left in charge of his father's sib (*mbumba*).

When Acikuta returned, Tsumbwi's position as village headman was already consolidated. By mutual agreement the village was divided into two groups. This division created two lineages, that of Dzungu, and that of Tsumbwi. For a number of years the two groups stayed together in one village until ultimately they decided to build two separate villages. The two villages have never been far apart, and at present they are only few hundred yards from one another.

Since Dzungu's is the original lineage, account is here given of the actual line of succession:



Note: B=brother, S=sister, s=son, d=daughter.

From the succession table, the following points are eminently clear:

1. No male successor to Dzungu I was brought forth by his elder sister Aviyuni, and the successor was born in the house of Aokha, the younger sister.

2. Acikuta, son of Aokha, succeeded his uncle (*mitsibweni*) as Dzungu II. Tsumbwi, son of Dzungu I, only acted as regent for some time.

3. Samuel, son of Nyembezi, elder sister of Acikuta, succeeded his uncle as Dzungu III.

4. Both Dzungu II and Dzungu III, being born in the house of a younger sister (*bere laling'ono*), were only acting on behalf of the house of the elder sister (*bere lalikuru*) since, with the arrival of a son in the house of Maneno, grand-daughter of Aviyuni, the headmanship returns to the big house or more correctly the major breast.

Dzungu III is at present still acting on behalf of Kambwani who is working in Southern Rhodesia. A deputation has already been sent down there to encourage him to come and occupy his position. Oripa, sister of Kambwani, has also brought forth a male child to succeed Kambwani, and it appears as if the dynasty of the major breast (Aviyuni) will in future provide their own headmen.

It is interesting to note here that Anyembezi, mother of the acting Dzungu III, was married to Jonas, son of her mother Aokha's brother Mkhomera. This is a true cross-cousin marriage (*cisuwani*) which in the past was looked upon as a preferable marriage.

In connection with the succession lineage of Tsumbwi, four village headmen remain in easy memory. Tsumbwi I was the son of Dzungu I. He belonged to the Banda clan, the clan of his mother, and married Agwanda of the Phiri clan. It must be noted here that the Cewa differentiate between the father's clan, and the mother's clan. A child adopts the clan-name of his father

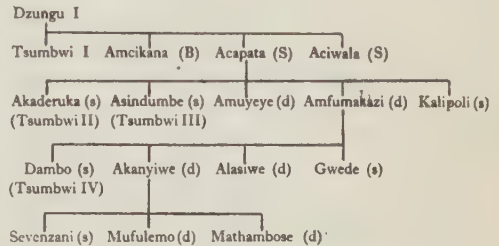
as his *ciongo* (the name by which he is thanked and which is in general use), but he belongs to the clan (*capfuko* or *camtundu*) of his mother. This clan name is not heard in the mother's village, but it comes out through the children of a son when he gets married (usually in another village).

Tsumbwi I had two sisters, Acapata and Aciwala, as well as a brother Amcikana, who died during childhood. The line of succession runs through Acapata, the major breast, who was married to Acikunika of the Zimba clan, a stranger from a distant village. Acapata's children are Akaderuka (male), Asindumbe (male), Amuyeye (female), Kalipoli (male) and Amfumakazi (female).

Tsumbwi I was succeeded by Akaderuka who became Tsumbwi II. When Akaderuka died, there was no able successor. His elder sister, Amuyeye, died in childbirth, and the children of Amfumakazi were too young to enter the village

headmanship. For this reason Asindumbe, brother of Tsumbwi II, acted as regent and became Tsumbwi III. Amfumakazi was married to Amcaca, a son of Tsumbwi I (cross-cousin marriage). Their children are Dambo (male), Akanyiwe (female), and Alasiwe (female). When Dambo became of age, he replaced his regent uncle, Tsumbwi III, and became the real successor to his uncle Akaderuka (Tsumbwi II).

The succession lineage therefore is as follows :



Note : B=brother, S=Sister, s=son, d=daughter.

II. HUT COMPOSITION

As will be noticed from the groundplan, the huts in Tsumbwi's village are built in parallel lines, true to official order. Little by little however, the row-formation is being abandoned already, and some of the kitchens are considerably out of line. It is especially interesting to note the layout around hut No. 40. In this compound an old grand-mother abides with her group of grand-children. According to the village headman, the grand-children, true to custom, abandoned their huts in the row-formation, and built near their grand-mother. The only grand-child staying some distance away is the inhabitant of hut No. 10. This resulted firstly on account of a quarrel among the siblings, and secondly because he married a woman who wanted her hut near her own group. (Vide "Family Complex".)

The entire village consists of 56 huts erected originally as sleeping quarters (*nyumba*). Out of these 47 are occupied as sleeping huts, 7 are used as kitchens, and two smaller ones as

sleeping quarters for children. Actually the 47 huts are at present utilized as follows :

1. Occupied by hutmates : Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 41, 42, 43, 47..... 24
2. Divorced wives : Nos. 2, 17, 19, 29, 36, 44. 6
3. Husbands dead, or women unmarried.
Nos. 14, 20, 37, 40..... 4
4. Polygamous marriages : Nos. 8, 16..... 2
5. Men married away : Nos. 5, 35, 38..... 3
6. Sleeping quarters, girls (*mphala*) : Nos. 22, 1
7. Sleeping quarters, boys (*gowelo*) Nos. 31, 35 2
8. Unoccupied : Nos. 1, 18, 23, 33, 39..... 5

Total.. 47

Out of the 47 huts, 43 are round with an average diameter of 10 feet. The rest are square huts 10 × 14 feet. All the kitchens are round huts, smaller than the sleeping huts. All the huts are

built with poles and bamboo, plastered both inside and outside with mud, and thatched with grass.

Over and above the 56 huts, the village has 49 grainbins for maize, and 38 smaller bins for beans and groundnuts. These are built on the outer skirts of the village. Among the huts in-

side the village are pigsties in which 63 pigs are kept ; and goat-pens housing 36 goats. Numerous fowls are kept in small pens built near the different huts. Approximately 29 pigeons are also in the village, and on the southern side, outside the village, is a cattle kraal for 40 animals belonging to the village inhabitants.

III. FAMILY COMPLEX

Account cannot here be given in detail of the entire family complex within the village. Only the more important family links are stressed to show how the Cewa village is in reality a con-joint family group with a very definite matrilineal and matrilocal bias. It is important to note that different groups are found within the village, each group claiming descent from its own breast or house.

Four groups can readily be identified within the village. Group I consists of descendants from Tsumbwi I ; group II is made up of the descendants of Acapata, Tsumbwi's I sister ; group III is composed of the descendants of Aciwala, the younger sister of Tsumbwi I ; and those in group IV are a few strangers who built in the village with the consent of the headman.

The major house (No. 40) in Group I, is that of Amlera, a daughter of Tsumbwi I. One daughter and a number of grandchildren of Amlera occupy the remaining houses in this group. The major house in group II belongs to Tsumbwi IV, the present village headman. The others in the group are Tsumbwi's *mbumba* (sib) which includes his sisters and their children. Those in this group are the descendants of the major breast (*bere lalikuru*) Acapata, and, normally speaking, they will always provide the headman. The descendants of group III belong to the house of Aciwala, the minor breast or younger sister of the original headman, Tsumbwi I. The leading house in this group is that of Agabu (No. 4) son of Aciwala, and uncle (*mitsibweni*) to the present Tsumbwi. Group IV, as already stated, has no close family ties with the rest of the village and may also only be temporary inhabitants.

Family links among groups I, II and III are obvious. Amlera with her group represents the house of Tsumbwi I. Tsumbwi IV and his group represent the house of Acapata, the royal dynasty of the village. Asindumbe's (Tsumbwi III) wife and descendants also belong to this group because, according to succession rights, the present headman became guardian to his uncle's house. Agabu and his group represent the house of Aciwala.

The following tables give an analysis of the inhabitants of Tsumbwi's village :

TABLE I
Total number of inhabitants

1. Women.....	36
2. Men	26
3. Temporary husbands 3 (Polygamous marriages)	
4. Children : Girls....	25
Boys....	29
Total	119

TABLE II
Female inhabitants

1. Hut-wives 23	1. Women belonging to village 27
2. Divorced 5	2. Women brought to village through marriage (<i>cite-ngwa</i>)
	7
3. Widows 4	3. Strangers
	2
4. Wives of polygamists 3	Total
5. Strangers . . 1	36
Total	36

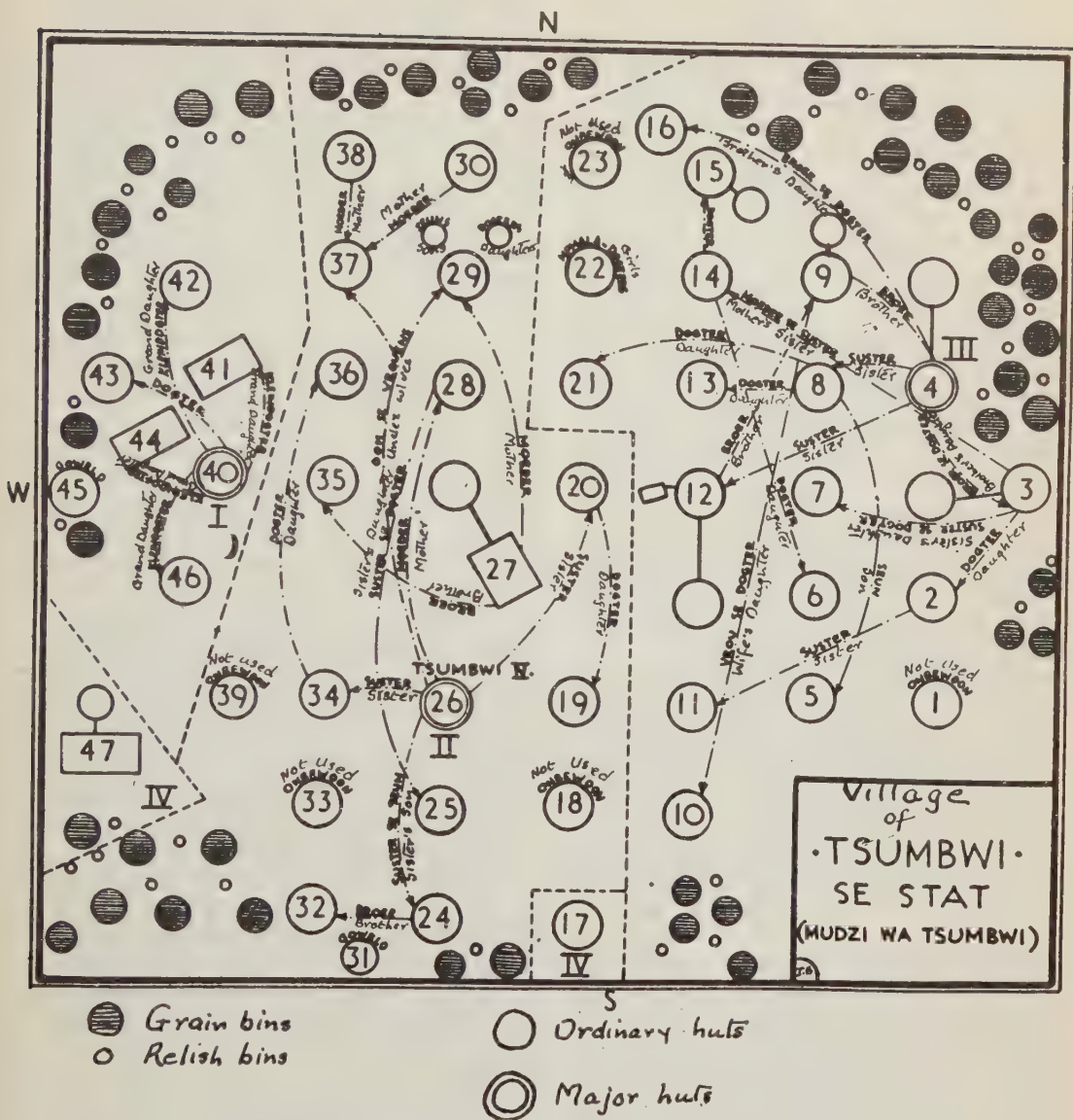


TABLE III
Male inhabitants

1. Hut-husbands	23	1. Men belonging to village	7
2. Married elsewhere..	3	2. Men brought to village through matriloca residence	16
3. Polygamists ..	3	3. Polygamists from elsewhere	3
		4. Married elsewhere ..	3
Total	29	Total	29

From these tables the following points are apparent :

1. Matriloca residence is borne out by the fact that out of a total of 36 women only 7 came from elsewhere, and 27 are resident in the village of their ancestors, whereas out of a total of 29 men, only 7 are resident in their original village, and 16 came from elsewhere to stay in the village of their wives.

2. It is possible, through the *citengaw* custom, for a man to take his wife to his own village. This is rare, as is shown by the fact that only seven, out of a total number of 36 women, came to the village through marriage.

Of the 54 children, 14 are still sleeping within the parent hut, 23 sleep with their grandparents, and 17 occupy the sleeping quarters of the unmarried youth. The division of sleeping space illustrates some very interesting principles underlying the Cewa social system.

Four periods in the life of every human being in the Cewa community become obvious. These periods may be divided as follows :

1. *From birth to weaning*

The baby is ushered into the world by birth through two parents within a certain hut unit. At birth the mother is secluded within the hut which immediately becomes a place of birth and is called by a special name *cikuta*. Here she is attended by midwives (*amamwino*) until the navel drops off. During this period the father sleeps either with the unmarried youth or in some separate hut. Before the child is shown to him, he hands over a token of thanks to the midwives in the form of fowls or beads. When

the midwives leave he is again allowed into the hut. He, together with his wife, is instructed as to initiation of the child through ritual practice. Instruction is done by the instructress (*man-kungwi*) and initiation takes place about one month after birth. Sexual intercourse within that period is taboo. The first sexual act after maternity is looked upon as the initiation of the child called *kubweza mwana* (to let come the child) or *kupatsa moyo* (to give life). The child is first handed over a fire from mother to father and back and the sexual act then takes place while the mother keeps the baby in her hands. Some of my informants stated that semen is rubbed over the child's body, whilst others added that it is rubbed into small strings handed to the mother by the midwives. The next morning the mother strings these with beads and puts them round the child's arms and legs as a token to the midwives that the initiation of the child was possible (*mwana wakhozeka*). This sign also informs the family circle that the sexual taboo (*kunjunkula*) by which they too were tied from the birth, is now lifted. Up to the time of initiation the baby was a *khand*a. Evidence points to the fact that before this initiation the child was not looked upon as a member of the community. If it died before this ritual practice was accomplished, it had no public funeral. Further more it is clear that only the biological father and mother could perform this rite. If the mother died in childbirth, the baby was buried with her.

The child stays in the parental hut up till the time of weaning. This is usually at an age between three and four years. Pregnancy during this period is avoided as far as possible. When the child becomes clever (*wocenjela*) in such a way that the parents may be hampered in their sexual aspirations, it goes to the hut of the maternal grand-parents.

2. *Staying with the grand-parents*

Normally the child-bearing possibilities of the grand-parents have by this time ceased. In their hut the child receives a great deal of fostering and education. These old people are the story tellers, the bearers of traditional wisdom

and folklore. Here the child stays until he gets teased by others for hanging to a woman's apron. They usually tell him he will become a *citsilu*, a dirty, insane being. This happens at the approximate age of seven.

It is interesting to note that a curious symmetric joking relationship starts between grandparents and grandchildren. The one calls the other husband or wife as the case may be. There is a good deal of mutual teasing and goodwill, as well as a good deal of mutual help. This relationship lasts throughout life.

3. *Period within the Gowelo or Mphala*

From the hut of the grandparents the child goes to the sleeping quarters of the unmarried youth. Here they are profoundly free from parental influence. The girls will however help their mothers with household duties. The boys lead a fairly carefree life, especially if there are no goats to tend. If they do something, it is usually for the mother's brother.

When the child reaches puberty he goes through initiation ceremonies. With his first erotic dream the boy usually tells his grandfather who arranges for individual instruction by the old men. Initiation ceremonies for boys seem to be of a very simple nature. Now-a-days they enter the *nyau*-dances and ceremonies which are looked upon as an initiation. From what evidence I have it seems as if the *nyau*-ceremonies are however a secondary development among the Cewa. The girls go through regular and well organized ceremonies at different stages. The first puberty rite (*cinamwali caciwaye*) happens with the first menstrual flow when the girl is secluded in a hut and instructed. This is done individually within the village. On this step follows group initiation (*cinamwali camkangali* or *cacikulu*) for all the *anamwali* (girls) of the neighbourhood at the *mzinda* or chief village. A third ceremony (*cisamba*) is performed at first pregnancy. For those who become pregnant before going through the *cinamwali* ceremonies there is a ceremony called *combwilimbwindi*, rather a mock *cinamwali* ceremony.

4. *Adult period*

Through the initiation ceremonies the child emerges into adult life, and the circle starts all over again. They marry or get married, bring forth children, and the community is perpetuated.

An interesting thing to note is that the children, while staying with their grandparents, play at being adults. Small huts (*masanje*, *mafuthwa*, *manyengwa*) are built on the village outskirts or in the sandbeds of rivers, and the play of life is fully enacted for some days. Boys and girls partake, they get married, cook their food and brew their beer, die and get buried, everything as if they were performing their duties as grown-ups.

Naturally much of these things have been dropped to-day as a result of Christianity and civilized influence, but the four main periods of life are still eminently clear.

An interesting social pattern evolves out of this. The four generations, grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren are moulded into one functional unit. The parents are responsible for bringing forth the children. Through ritual practice they bring the baby into the community as a junior member. The mother feeds the baby till it is weaned. From then on the responsibility for further rearing and education lies with the grandparents. When the child leaves the hut of his grandparents, he passes to the sleeping quarters of the unmarried and his training becomes more of a community concern than that of individual parents. In any case the child does not judicially belong to his parents. Being born within a certain sib (*mbumba*) he belongs to the mother's brother (*mtsibweni*).

The curious relationship between grandparent and grandchild encourages the children to built their huts when grown-up near that of their grandparents. Here they cluster together, and their's is the responsibility to see that their grandparents get proper attention as well as a decent burial when they pass out into the spirit domain. These grandchildren (*adzukulu*) are indeed the owners of the funeral (*mwini malilo*) of their grandparents. Within the framework of this four-generation pattern acting as a functional unit, the Cewa community is perpetuated and

the duties of every individual are clear and well defined.

It is obvious from this short analysis that many difficulties confront the administrator, the missionary and the educationist in schemes of development. Although the Cewa village is a family cluster, actual family life is considerably lacking. The strong family nucleus, father mother and child, as found where *pater potestas*

reigns supreme, is greatly disturbed by *avunculi potestas*, and a different pattern appears below the surface of the community. For this reason the development of individual households which may come about through individual farming and a re-arrangement of sleeping space, is watched with interest by those who see in it the possible dawn of a new socialization among a matrilineal tribe.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

MR. EMMAN H. A. MADE is a Zulu author and poet, and is the Principal of the Sithefe Govt. Native Primary School, Inyoni, Natal.

MR. H. I. E. DHLOMO is a Zulu poetical and dramatic writer, and is Assistant Editor of *Ilanga laseNatal*, Durban.

MRS. AUDREY LAWSON is a retired teacher and has worked in Southern Nyasaland both as a teacher and a translator for the Government Education Department there.

MR. J. BRUWER is Principal, Normal College, Katete, Fort Jameson.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

African Switzerland. ERIC ROSENTHAL. (Juta & Co., Cape Town : 1949.) 248 pp. 15 /-.

This is a popular account of Basutoland by a well-known South African writer. The book is written throughout in a most sympathetic tone, and contains a vast amount of information of great value to the uninformed reader. Descriptions of the country are vivid and arresting. The history, with its conflicts with the Zulu impis of Shaka, the Matebele and the movements of various Native tribes, is well described. The great part in building up the nation by Moshesh, and his diplomacy and wars with both Boers and British are adequately and well portrayed. A considerable amount of attention is given to the important part played by the missions: the pioneer rôle of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society with its great work centring in Morija, and the widespread work of the Roman Catholics with their most recent "University College" venture.

Other aspects, such as that of the soil-erosion, over-stocking, and over-populating, resulting in the migrations for labour to the farms and mines and the work of the Recruiting Corporation, are dealt with; as well as the political implications of Basutoland for the future. Mr. Rosenthal has not relied entirely upon reference books for his information. His work is the result of personal visits to, and travels in, this interesting land, and he writes with a freshness and vividness which make the reader quickly picture each scene.

Even with a popular book of this type, which does not pretend to be a scientific exposition, it is a pity, nevertheless that the author was not more careful to check and verify his linguistic references. On page 17, for instance, the women's names quoted at the foot are Zulu, not Sotho. On page 40, for *takazelo*, he surely means *amazimu*. Many of the Sotho names quoted on pages 41, 88 and 133 are badly misspelt. On page 169 he misquotes the African National Anthem as "Nkoni Sikoleli Africa"! and on page 171 Sotho

and Zulu quotations are intermingled without distinction.

Despite these blemishes, and the fact that one would have liked to know more of the personal life and customs of the people, this book will have a real informative value about a country which has been little described hitherto. The volume is well illustrated. C. M. D.

Prophets in Africa. Dr. KATESA SCHLOSSER. (Published by Albert Limbach, Braunschweig: 1949.) 426 pp.

This book deals with all the prophets known throughout Africa, so that it is virtually an encyclopaedia of African prophetism. It contains special reference to the lives, and work of the individuals mentioned, as well as their religious, political and socio-psychological background. At the end of every chapter there is a résumé of the different separatistic trends and the main problems. The book consists of 3 parts: A. Prophets having, as background, the old Native religion. B. Prophets of tribes under Islamic influence and C. Prophets born of Christian missions. These parts are geographically and historically subdivided. Numerous sources were consulted, but the author regrets that some could not be obtained during the war when the book was written. There are some discrepancies in the sections on South Africa, but these do not affect the value of the book, especially as Sundkler's book on South Africa can be used as supplement.

The author is one of the younger German ethnologists. She is employed with the ethnological museum at Kiel.

Pretoria.

P.-L. BREUTZ.

Studies in African Land Usage in Northern Rhodesia. WILLIAM ALLAN, Assistant Director of Agriculture, Northern Rhodesia. (Oxford University Press, Cape Town: 1949.) 85 pp. 7/6.

How much land does a man require? A difficult question to answer! It depends on the man

and the land and on a host of other factors. Mr. William Allan who is assistant director of agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, attempts an answer in this publication by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. He is concerned with conditions in Northern Rhodesia where Africans still practise, with little modification, the traditional agricultural methods of their ancestors. The pamphlet is a synthesis of four papers all bearing on the subject. In his preface the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to C. G. Trapnell's *Ecological Report on North-Eastern Rhodesia*. The problem is essentially an ecological one and remains predominantly such even when historical, political and economic factors are considered, for all these things in fact form part of the environment, considered in its broadest sense.

The writer outlines the problem very clearly and is careful to define the terms he uses. A tribal farmer requires as a minimum as much land as will enable him to feed himself and his family, while using the traditional crops and methods of cultivation and avoiding land degradation. "For every area of land to which a given system of land usage is applied there is a population limit which cannot be exceeded without setting in motion the process of land degradation. This limit may be termed the *critical population* or *carrying capacity* for that system of land usage. Any estimate of land carrying capacity is, of course, meaningless unless the area, to which the calculation applies and the system of land usage upon which it is based, are clearly defined."

There are a number of types of agriculture practised by the Natives of Northern Rhodesia. They can nearly all be defined as forms of "shifting cultivation". The forest is felled and then burnt; the crops are fertilized by the ashes. Fertility is maintained for a shorter or longer time, depending on the nature of the original vegetation and soil. The process is then repeated in a new area, while the vegetation regenerates on the old garden sites, a process which may take a quarter of a century or more. So every man requires a vastly greater area of land than the portion he is cultivating at any one time.

A sad account is given of what happens when

the land available falls short of these requirements. At first land in an advanced state of regeneration will still be available and little ill effect will be noticed. But regeneration periods will steadily be reduced. Erosion symptoms will begin to appear. Soils which would not normally be cultivated at all will come under crops. These will in turn be abandoned. Former cultivators of abandoned land may then offer to work in exchange for the food surplus still enjoyed by the holders of the stronger soils. This brings about increasing pressure and accelerated erosion in the more fertile areas. Able-bodied men now begin to migrate to centres of employment outside, while the area itself becomes dependent to a large extent on food grown elsewhere.

This dismal process has already run its full course in most South African Native reserves. It has happened only in isolated patches in Northern Rhodesia. That country still has areas of virgin country available for Native use, and resettlement of population on scientific lines is being carried out. It is clear, however, that population will continue to increase and that traditional agricultural practice must give way to modern methods of mixed farming with the utilization of animal manure and compost. The mere introduction of the plough, it pointed out parenthetically, may have disastrous consequences.

However, in Northern Rhodesia, as in South Africa, the agricultural re-education of the African is no simple matter. Allan says: "The agriculture of a people can be rapidly developed only if three factors are present together; the means, the incentive and the will. Throughout the area we are discussing these factors were and for that matter still are, to a large extent, absent".

It seems that the ecologist alone cannot handle this problem: the sociologist, the educationalist-cum-propagandist and the economist are needed. Also—at least so it appears to the reviewer—some sort of political awakening of the African is required, something that will stir him out of his old rut of dependence on the White man's initiative, something that will make him realize that African soil belongs to him and that it is worth cherishing.

EDWARD ROUX,

Human Problems in British Central Africa.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal No. VII.
(Oxford University Press, Cape Town : 1949.)
94 pp. 4/-.

Number seven of the Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, *Human Problems in British Central Africa*, contains some interesting papers. Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones' presidential address to Section H of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in 1947, is the first article—"The Development of Central and Southern Africa", in which Mr. Jones deals to a large extent with demographic problems and stresses the need for census statistics of the African populations south of the Bantu Line. Suggestions are made regarding the most urgent problems common to these territories. J. M. Winterbottom discusses "Some Problems of the Use of African Vernaculars" from the educationalists' point of view. Other contributions are "Luo Tribes and Clans" by E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Trial by Jury in Southern Rhodesia" by Roger Howman, and "Psychiatric Work among the Bemba" by S. Davidson.

C. M. D.

Die Bambuti-Pygmaeen vom Ituri. PAUL SCHEBESTA. (Boekhandel Folk Zoon, Brussel : 1948.) In drei Baenden : II. ix+266 pp. 12 Bildtafeln.

This is the second part of Volume II and deals with the social life of these pygmies. Schebesta, who spent three years of field work among the Congo pygmies is already well known through the publication of the preceeding two volumes. The first appeared in 1938, the second in 1941 and this final volume in 1948.

Schebesta is thus most able to give a comprehensive study of the rhythm of the daily life of these interesting little people, describing also the character of individuals.

He defines clearly at the start his terminology and shows how it differs from that of other scientists. He does not agree with Father Wilhelm

Schmidt and supposes that the totemism of the pygmies is due to their own culture, and has originated from the clan and not from the sib-exogamy. He also disagrees with H. Baumann, who does not include the Bambuti in his "jaegerischen Eurafrikanischen Kulturkreis" (Eurafrikan hunter strata), because these Pygmies do not live in the Savanna areas. Schebesta points out that in the pygmy culture enough other traits exist which would place the pygmies in the Eurafrikan hunter strata.

He maintains that as the Bambuti brought the hunter complex to the Negroes who were not originally hunters, therefore he wants to class the Bambuti with the hunters.

Schebesta's outlook on primitive culture is dominated by economics. For him all primitive cultures move and develop within an economic framework. He then shows, how the social system develops under, and is governed by, the economics of the environment.

The chapters deal with local groups: the family and the sibs; marriage; motherhood and childhood; initiation; men's societies; social behaviour. This book will probably be the standard monograph on these people and should be translated into English so as to be accessible to the English speaking peoples of America and the British Empire.

A. SCHMIDT.

Ndevo Yenombe Luvizho, and Other Lilima

Texts. G. FORTUNE, S. J. (Communications from the School of African Studies, No. 21. University of Cape Town. July 1949.) 86 pp. 4/-.

In his survey of the Shona dialects in 1929, Dr. Doke found that the Kalanga or western cluster of dialects was too divergent to allow of its participation in the unification which subsequently took place. Since then, unified Shona has seen considerable development as a literary and educational medium, but the Kalanga dialect cluster has unfortunately been almost completely neglected. This collection of four texts in the Lilima dialect is therefore most welcome.

The texts, originally written by native Lilima speakers of the Francistown district, deal with the cattle culture of the Kalanga, totemism, and historical accounts of two of the tribes. In editing this material, Father Fortune has used a modified form of the unified Shona orthography, thereby more accurately representing the sounds, and ensuring greater clarity for comparative study with other Shona dialects, than would have been possible if the present defective Kalanga orthography had been retained. He has departed from current practice also in using conjunctive word-division.

Besides providing literal translations into English, Father Fortune has added 33 pages of most useful grammatical notes, with comparative references to other Shona dialects, and to other languages of the south-eastern zone. Of several very interesting points discussed in these notes, perhaps one may be mentioned here as raising a question of some interest. In note 126, page 75, it is stated that the prefix *hu-* is used "as a copulative formative with *verb stems*"—a most unlikely type of construction. Is this *hu-* not the infinitive prefix *ku-* with strengthened initial consonant? There appears frequently in Bantu a copulative formative *ndi-* (as in Lilima), *ni-* or *N-*; hence *ndi-/ni-/N-+ku- <Nku- <hu-*, the latter phonetic change being typical of Shona strengthening or nasalization. It would be interesting to know whether this suggestion is supported by other facts.

D. T. COLE.

Malinowski's Sociological Theories. MAX GLUCKMAN. *Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 16.* (Published for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute by the Oxford University Press.) Text 28 pp., price 3/-.

Dr. Colson and the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute have performed a valuable service in issuing two previously and separately published ¹ essays of Dr. Gluckman in the form of an Institute

paper. These critical essays entitled "Malinowski's Functional Analysis of Social Change" and "Malinowski's Contribution of Social Anthropology" are important and say things which have long required to be stated frankly about both the importance and limitations of Professor Bronislaw Malinowski's contribution to sociological theory and method.

First it must be noted that Gluckman pays a whole-hearted tribute to Malinowski's tremendous influence on the development of the whole discipline of Social Anthropology and in his introductory note rightly describes Malinowski "as one of the most significant figures in the social anthropology of this century". Malinowski's insistence on the need for adequate field work, his publications based on his own field-work, his fertile and all-embracing concept of culture and his contributions to the methodology of field-studies; and last, but not least, his stimulating teaching, are given the credit they deserve. As is stated, many of the younger social anthropologists, directly and indirectly influenced by him, have done brilliant fieldwork and have made notable theoretical contributions. In South Africa in the persons and the published works of our leading anthropologists we are constantly reminded of our indebtedness to Malinowski.

Dr. Gluckman's appreciation of Malinowski's life and work, however, has not blinded him to the defects and inconsistencies in certain writings of the leader of the "Functional" School. In particular *The Dynamics of Culture Change* and *A Scientific Theory of Culture* are subjected to a penetrating critical review and Malinowski's theoretical principles are shown to be inadequate, and much of his reasoning confused and contradictory. These defects, of course, are not confined to "Malinowski functionalism", it is easy to detect similar defects in the writings of the geographical determinists, Behaviourists, Freudians and other devoted school-men whose powerful and original thought often leads them to ignore both facts, and other valid viewpoints, in their attempt to defend untenable theoretical positions.

¹ *Africa*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1947 and *African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1947.

Malinowski's confusion about history and his opposition to historical studies are clearly revealed in the discussion on his approach to the historical analysis of social change. One must agree that "Malinowski's obsession against history" led him to be both naive and inconsistent, and Gluckman's reference to the "shattering egocentricity" of Malinowski's observations on South African Native land policy, which arose out of this obsession, is very pertinent. It is interesting to note that both Professors Monica Wilson and J. D. Krige have recently affirmed the importance of the need for the anthropologist to study the past and present conditions of a primitive people, as well as the relationship between their contemporary institutions in order to achieve an understanding of their society.¹

Dr. Gluckman's further analysis of Malinowski's weaknesses shows that in his practical anthropology Malinowski sadly failed to recognize the dynamic potent and nature of European interests and dominance in Africa and thus failed to understand the real nature of the conflict between African and European interests. How any modern sociologist or social anthropologist can overlook the stern reality of European-imposed land or labour laws, for example, and their effects on African life, is difficult to understand. Thus the three compartments or "cultural realities" into which Malinowski chose to divide the population of Africa for purposes of study of social change are ably demonstrated to be unreal divisions if the dynamism of social forces is to be properly allowed for. The sterility in the study of social change, of viewing institutions as primarily related to basic biological needs, is adequately demonstrated. The General Tax imposed under the South African Natives Taxation and Development Act leads to adjustments being forced upon the African which cannot be understood in terms of any basic African psychological or physiological need. Again Malinowski's undoubtedly valuable concept of the

"integral structure of institutions" is shown to be too rigid to permit its being useful in comparative studies.

The forthright language used in these essays and the bold condemnation of *The Dynamics of Culture Change* as a "bad book" as well as the strong attacks on the weakness of Malinowski's functional theory of culture, especially as it is set out in *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, might well provoke angry replies. None the less it is important that Dr. Gluckman has chosen to summarize in such unmistakable fashion, his own considered thoughts on what is good and what is bad in Malinowski's work. Certainly many of the criticisms which he makes have been made by other anthropologists, but it is useful to have criticisms presented with such clarity and brevity, backed, as they are, by shrewd comments based on Dr. Gluckman's own work and experience. For my own part I welcome the author's insistence on the need to recognize hard facts in the formulation of theories and for sociologists to possess that broad social "awareness" which, for example, the late Dr. Karl Mannheim considered so essential in the modern sociologist. Again I like Dr. Gluckman's concept of the "social field" in Africa, a concept which compels us both to regard modern Africa as an integral territorial section of the modern world and to see it as a single field in which African, Arab, Coloured, European and Indian institutions, customs, mores, etc., are inter-related and inter-acting. As he states, although we may have to "isolate zones of the field for analysis . . . we have to allow for the operation in one zone, of events emerging from all others".

The need for the knowledge and understanding of the contributions of fellow-workers in the field science is made apparent in these essays. It is gratifying to note the recognition of the fundamentally important contributions of men like W. M. MacMillan, De Kiewiet and Marais to our knowledge of Africa. With the current acceptance of the limitations of the individual and the need for team-work in modern social research it is obvious, in the field of Native law to take but one example, that the professional

¹ MONICA WILSON in *Some Possibilities and Limitations of Anthropological Research* and J. D. KRIGE *The Anthropological Approach to the Study of Society* being inaugural addresses delivered in 1948 and 1947.

lawyer studying Native law from available records, the administrator studying it in its practical application and the social anthropologist working upon it in the field have each their own contribution to make to our knowledge of this important subject.

Dr. Gluckman, although making quite clear his own opinion that every social anthropologist should preferably study at least two primitive peoples deplores the fieldworkers' sneering at the "chair-borne" anthropologist. He pays a warm tribute to the stimulating work of the "arm-chair" social scientists such as Durkheim, Mauss and van Gennep whom he points out have on the whole, made the most fruitful contributions to sociological theory. Knowing Dr. Gluckman's own background, and having some knowledge of the sense of virtue with which one returns from the African bush to the town, it is pleasing to read this gracious defence of those who have not first-hand knowledge of the African "field".

Finally, one must refer to the author's rather too modest and possibly inconsistent comments on the achievements of social anthropology to date. On page 21 he states that "we have still to establish a right to maintain that we are more than good recorders of contemporary events". Although this is in keeping with similar statements by Dr. Monica Wilson who has referred to social anthropology as still being in its "swaddling clothes" and at a "Pre-Linnaean stage" of scientific development, one notes that elsewhere in his essays Dr. Gluckman observes that social anthropology "has already produced generalizations of scientific description" (p. 26) and that "we are even able to predict what will be found in areas not yet studied" (p. 17). Prediction is surely one of the ultimate achievements of science. In any event social anthropology has made quite remarkable progress in a short period of time.

These essays are worth reading and re-reading. Now that Professor Gluckman has forsaken "the savage for the study" one looks forward to his providing many stimulating contributions to sociological theory.

KENNETH KIRKWOOD.

The Bantu of North Kavirondo. Volume I.

GÜNTER WAGNER. (Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press.) xx+511 pp., price 45/-. This book deals with the Bantu-speaking peoples of the North Kavirondo district, Nyanza Province, Kenya; and especially with the Logoli and Vugusu, two of the twenty or so "tribes" (Dr. Wagner sometimes also calls them "sub-tribes") into which the people are divided. It is based upon investigations carried out from 1934 to 1938, "about two and a half years having been devoted to the actual work in the field".

A fair amount of material has already been published about the Bantu Kavirondo (including various articles by Dr. Wagner himself), but the treatise under review is by far the most detailed and comprehensive study available, and will undoubtedly rank as the standard monograph on the people. It reveals Dr. Wagner as an able and assiduous fieldworker; and Part III, dealing with the "magico-religious", is a particularly valuable and important contribution to an aspect of African tribal life that has been frequently discussed but seldom with such clarity and insight.

The fact that this is but the first volume of three (there is no indication when the others are to be published) makes it difficult to judge the merits of the treatise generally. The section on social organization (Part II) is short and rather scrappy, although we are promised a more detailed discussion in Volume II; but it is surprising, in this context, to find such topics as "age-grades", marriage regulations, and the status of widows, being dealt with in Part IV ("The Rites of Passage") instead of in the more appropriate Part II. Part IV, incidentally, is confined to Birth, Circumcision and Initiation Rites, Marriage Death and Mourning; relatively little is said about the individual's life history between those various stages. It is possible that the gaps may be filled in the later volumes, but the impression left by the present one is that the treatise as a whole has been less carefully planned than it might have been, although the material itself is very good.

I. SCHAPERA.